















# ETHIOPIA:

HER GLOOM AND GLORY,

AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE HISTORY OF THE

SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY,

THE

RISE OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA,

AND THE

PROGRESS OF AFRICAN MISSIONS.

BY DAVID ✓ CHRISTY,

AUTHOR OF "COTTON IS KING," ETC., ETC.

With an Introduction.



BY W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D.,

AGENT OF THE OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

CINCINNATI:

RICKEY, MALLORY & WEBB.

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## RECOMMENDATION.

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At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, held June 29, 1855, it was, on motion of the Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D., unanimously

"Resolved, That the Board approve of, and recommend the publication of Prof. CHRISTY'S LECTURES ON COLONIZATION in book form, for general circulation."

Attest:

W. P. STRICKLAND,  
*General Agent and Cor. Secretary.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THAT slavery has existed in all ages since the flood, is an unquestioned fact. That it has formed a part of the civil as well as ecclesiastical polity of the most powerful and influential empires of the world, Assyrian, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and European, is equally an established fact. And while it has existed in all ages, and among all nations, it has also been associated with all religions, and been the subject of legislative enactments in all countries. We find slavery intimately interwoven with the rites and ceremonies of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity; and whatever its origin, whether divine, human, or demonic, this dark feature in the constitution of nations, governments, and churches, has always existed, while every effort to erase it has only deepened the line of its deformity.

It has been a subject of greater elaboration and controversy than any other which has agitated the public mind. It has been the theme of the pen, the press, the pulpit, the platform, the ecclesiastical convention, the halls of legislation, the cabinets of kings, emperors, and autocrats. The scholar, the divine, the jurist, the politician, and statesman, have alike been employed in laboring to solve this problem of evil; and so difficult has been its solution, that after the lapse of centuries, it remains as dark and enigmatical as ever.

Africa, more than any other country in the world, has been the great mother who has furnished more of her hapless sons for the chains and degradation of slavery, than any other country on the globe; and the slavery which has existed there, from time almost immemorial, exists in all its odious features to the present day. It may be asked, how shall this dark continent be approached, and what policy shall the friends of humanity adopt to elevate and save its down-trodden millions? Will the Mahommedanism of the North, which is winning its way southward, and infusing itself among the masses of Central Africa, so as in some degree to modify their barbarism, prepare the primitive tribes for the reception of a civilization and faith which are as true as they are divine? Will the Republic of Liberia, extending along the western coast, as a fringe, spread its fibers into the interior, and, like veins of life-giving blood, pour new currents into the heart of the great mummy? Is there hope for a nation which, in the lapse of three thousand years, has scarcely moved its hand or turned in its sleep? Will Ethiopia ever awake and stretch out her hands to God? Can it be that the identical types of race, servitude, occupation, and character, that now exist in Africa, may be found engraven on the monuments of Babylon and Thebes four thousand years ago, and yet that we may look for the redemption of such a people?

The present work of Prof. CHRISTY is designed to throw light on these difficult and mysterious subjects, so far, at least, as they stand connected with the perpetuation of the evils of African slavery, and presents, in our opinion, the only plan suggested by Providence, as indicated in the signs of the times, for the suppression and final extirpation of this great evil. The candid reader will find, in these pages, such reliable information as

will guide him in his researches into the condition and prospects of the enslaved of Africa, as exhibited in this country particularly; while the statesman, politician, moralist, and Christian, will see the importance of adopting a different line of policy from that species of moral and legal suasion which has hitherto characterized the movements of those who have professed to be the only friends of the slave.

We believe it is now conceded by all sober and intelligent minds, that if ever Africa is redeemed and her enormous system of slavery, embracing nine-tenths of her entire population, is broken up, it must be by the co-operation of agencies now so auspiciously begun—through means of Colonization upon her own soil. The abolition of the African slave trade, and the destruction of the factories engaged in that traffic, along the line of coast embraced in the Republic of Liberia, has established the fact, that just so far as that Republic shall be able to extend its boundaries, by the annexation of territory, so will the infernal system be crippled, and eventually destroyed.

Seven years ago, Prof. CHRISTY, with a view of forming an additional State, to be connected with the Republic of Liberia, for the purpose of furnishing a home for the colored people of Ohio, proposed the subject to some friends of Colonization in the State, and Mr. CHARLES McMICKEN, of Cincinnati, Ohio, with a generosity worthy of so high and benevolent an object, gave \$5,000 00. Mr. SOLOMON STURGES, of Putnam, Ohio, also gave \$1,000 00. To these sums was added a generous donation of \$5,000 00, from Mr. GURNEY, of London; and the territory northwest of Liberia, including the Gallinas, known to be the most active seat of the traffic in slaves, was purchased and forever consecrated to freedom, while the chains were stricken from more than 70,000 slaves. Such was the state of the slave trade, and the wars growing out of it, in this section of country, that the missions established there could not prosper, and all hope was about to be cast off in regard to their success; but now, that the government of Liberia has been extended over the whole territory, as far as the line of Sierra Leone, the missions are protected and prosper. Thus we have an *Ohio in Africa*, in a healthy and fertile region, where we hope many of our colored friends will find a home in the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges and benefits of manhood.

As the author wrote the first part of this work in 1849, the numbers and position of the free colored people are presented as in the census of 1840. No material change in the tendencies of the state of things described has occurred since, except that the census of 1850 shows the ratio of their increase to be much lower than that upon which the estimates are based, and more unfavorable to that class of our population. Another variation in the results is found in the fact, that Indiana, as a consequence of her recent laws in regard to the colored people, had diminished her free colored population, in 1850, over two thousand, instead of having the number increased twofold, as had occurred in every preceding decade. The same result has followed the legislation of Illinois, while in all the other States, there has been but little change. The number assigned to Louisiana, in 1840, was too great, as appears from the census of 1850.

These explanatory remarks become necessary in an introduction to the following work, as the facts were communicated by the author to the Legislature of Ohio, at two several sessions, with a view to obtain that assistance which had been granted by other States to further the objects of Colonization, and they were also communicated to the Constitutional Convention of this State.

W. P. STRICKLAND.

Cincinnati, O., July, 1855.



## PART FIRST.

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EVER since the fall of man, and his expulsion from that Eden of bliss, assigned him in his state of innocence, a warfare has been waged between good and evil. The conflict has been varied in its results, sometimes good and at others evil having the ascendancy. But why is it that an all-wise, all-powerful, omniscient and infinitely benevolent Being should have permitted the introduction of moral evil into the world, and in his providence allow its continuance, we cannot determine, nor shall we wait to inquire.

We believe that errors of judgment and opinion, and all evil actions, and every form of wickedness and injustice in the world, have their origin in the moral depravation of man's nature, and that the contest between good and evil will necessarily continue until there shall be a moral renovation of his heart. This moral depravation of man's nature being general, its effects are universal, and the whole world has been but a theater upon which continued developments of its workings have been exhibited.

We believe that God has made provision for man's moral redemption,—for creating in him a new heart and renewing a right spirit within him—and that the Gospel is the ordinary medium through which this blessing flows to mankind. And believing this, we have full confidence in the success of all enterprises for the amelioration of the condition of mankind, which embrace the Christian religion as the basis of their operations.

The history of African slavery forms one of the darkest pages in the catalogue of woes introduced into the world by human depravity. It originated in the islands connected with this continent, in an error of judgment, but, strange to say, from motives of benevolence, and has been productive of an accumulation of human suffering which affords a most painful illustration of the want of foresight in man, and the immensity of the evils which misguided philanthropy may inflict upon our race.

In attempting to bring up in review this enormous evil in its origin and various aspects, as connected with colonization, the subject naturally divides itself into the following heads :

- I. The origin of the slave trade, with the efforts made for its suppression.
- II. The measures adopted at an early day for the emancipation of the slaves introduced into the United States, with the results.
- III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.
- IV. The practicability of colonizing the free colored people of the United States.
- V. The effects of colonization on the native Africans, and upon the missionary efforts in Africa.
- VI. The certainty of success of the colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

I. A Portuguese exploring expedition was in progress, in 1434, along the west coast of Africa, having in view the double object of conquering the Infidels and finding a passage by sea to India. Under the sanction of a bull of Pope Martin V., they had granted to them the right to all the territories they might discover, and a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering those regions to Christ and his church. Anthony Gonzales, an officer of this expedition, received at Rio del Oro, on the coast of Africa, in 1442, ten negro slaves and some gold dust in exchange for several Moorish captives, which he held in custody. On his return to Lisbon, the avarice of his countrymen was awakened by his success, and in a few years thirty ships were fitted out in pursuit of this gainful traffic. These incipient steps in the slave trade having been taken, it was continued by private adventurers until 1481, when the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea, and erected many forts on the African coast to protect himself in this iniquitous war upon human rights.

Soon after the settlement of the first colony in St. Domingo, in 1493, the licentiousness, rapacity and insolence of the Spaniards exasperated the native Indians, and a war breaking out between them, the latter were subdued and reduced to slavery. But as the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude soon became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life wasted that feeble race so rapidly, that in fifteen years their numbers were reduced, by the original war and subsequent slavery, from a million to sixty thousand.

This enormous injustice awakened the sympathies of benevolent hearts, and great efforts were made by the Dominican missionaries to rescue the Indians from such cruel oppression. At length Las Casas espoused their cause; but his eloquence and all his efforts, both in the Island and in Spain, were unavailing. The impossibility, as it was supposed, of carrying on any improvements in America, and securing

to the crown of Spain the expected annual revenue of gold, unless the Spaniards could command the labor of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects.

To remove this obstacle, without which it was in vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of Negroes, from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, to be employed as substitutes for the Indians. Unfortunately for the children of Africa, this plan of Las Casas was adopted. As early as 1503, a few Negro slaves had been sent into St. Domingo, and in 1511, Ferdinand had permitted them to be imported in great numbers. The labor of one African was found to be equal to that of four Indians. But Cardinal Ximenes, acting as Regent from the death of Ferdinand to the accession of Charles, peremptorily refused to allow of their further introduction. Charles, however, on arriving in Spain, granted the prayer of Las Casas, and bestowed upon one of his Flemish friends the monopoly of supplying the colonies with slaves. This favorite sold his right to some Genoese merchants, 1518, and they brought the traffic in slaves, between Africa and America, into that regular form which has been continued to the present time.

Thus, through motives of benevolence toward the poor oppressed native Indians of St. Domingo, did the mistaken philanthropy of a good man, co-operating with the avarice of the Christian world, entail perpetual chains and inflict unutterable woes upon the sons of Africa.

This new market for slaves having been thus created, the nations of Europe were soon found treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. 'The Genoese,' as already stated, 'had, at first, the monopoly of this new branch of commerce. The French next obtained it, and kept it until it yielded them, according to Spanish official accounts, the sum of \$204,000,000. In 1713 the English secured it for thirty years.' But Spain, in 1739, purchased the British right for the remaining four years, by the payment of \$500,000. The Dutch also participated to some extent in the traffic.

The North American Colonies did not long escape the introduction of this curse. As early as 1620, slaves were introduced by a Dutch vessel, which sailed up the James river, and sold her cargo. From that period a few slaves were introduced into North America from year to year, until the beginning of the 18th century, when Great Britain, having secured the monopoly of the slave trade, as before mentioned, prosecuted it with great activity, and made her own Colonies the principal mart for the victims of her avarice. But her North American Colonies made a vigorous opposition to their introduction. The mother country, however, finding her commercial interests greatly advanced by this traffic, refused to listen to their remonstrances, or to sanction their legislative prohibitions.

But in addition to the commercial motive which controlled the actions of England, another, still more potent, was disclosed in the declaration of the Earl of Dartmouth, in 1777, when he declared, as a reason for forcing the Africans upon the Colonies, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans:—they will be a power in our hands to

restrain the unruly Colonists." The success which a kind providence granted to the arms of the Colonists, in their struggle for independence, however, soon enabled them to control this evil, and ultimately to expel it from our coasts.

In consequence of citizens of the Colonies being involved in the traffic, in the adoption of the Constitution the period for the termination of the slave trade was prolonged until January, 1808. But Congress, in anticipation, passed a law, on March 3d, 1807, prohibiting the fitting out of any vessels for the slave trade after that date, and forbidding the importation of any slaves after January, 1808, under the penalty of imprisonment from five to ten years, a fine of \$20,000, and the forfeiture of the vessels employed therein. This act also authorized the President of the United States to employ armed vessels to cruise on the coasts of Africa and the United States to prevent infractions of the law.

On the 3d of March, 1819, another act was passed, re-affirming the former act, and authorizing the President to make provision for the safe-keeping and support of all recaptured Africans, and for their return to Africa. This movement was prompted by the exertions of the American Colonization Society, which had been organized on the first of January, 1817, and embraced among its members many of the most influential men in the nation.

On the first of March, preceding the passage of this act, a gentleman from Virginia offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, which was passed without a division, declaring that every person who should import any slave, or purchase one so imported, *should be punished with death*. The incident reveals to us, in a very unequivocal manner, the state of public sentiment at that time.

In the following year, 1820, Congress gave the crowning act to her legislation upon this subject, by the passage of the law declaring the slave trade *piracy*. This decisive measure, the first of the kind among nations, and which stamped the slave trade with deserved infamy, it should be remembered, was recommended by a committee of the House in a Report founded on a memorial of the Colonization Society. Thus terminated the *legislative measures* adopted by our Government for the suppression of the slave trade.

We shall now turn to Great Britain, the most extensive participator in this iniquitous traffic, and ascertain the success of the measures adopted for its suppression in that direction.

Through the efforts of Wilberforce and his co-adjutors, the British Parliament passed an act in 1806, which was to take effect in 1808, by which the slave trade was forever prohibited to her West India Colonies. But the want of wisdom and foresight involved in the measures adopted to accomplish this great work, soon became manifest. Had Great Britain prevailed upon or compelled Portugal and Spain to unite with her, the annihilation of the slave trade might have been effected. The traffic being abandoned by England, and left free to all others, was continued under the flags of Portugal and Spain, and their tropical colonies soon received such large accessions



of slaves, as to enable them to begin to rival Great Britain in the supply of tropical products to the markets of the world.

But the philanthropic Wilberforce persevered in his efforts, and, after a struggle of thirty years, succeeded in procuring the passage of the Act of Parliament, in 1824, declaring the slave trade piracy. This was four years after the passage of the Act of our Congress which declared it piracy, and subjected those engaged therein to the penalty of death.

This decisive action of the two Governments was hailed with joy by the philanthropists of the world, and their efforts were now put forth to influence all the other Christian powers to unite in the suppression of this horrible traffic. Their exertions were ultimately crowned with success, and their joy was unbounded. England, France, the United States, and the other Christian powers, not only declared it piracy, but agreed to employ an armed force for its suppression. This engagement, however, was not carried out by all of the Governments who had assented to the proposition; yet, still, the hope was confidently entertained that the day for the destruction of the slave trade had come, and that this reproach of Christian nations would be blotted out for ever.

But, alas, how short-sighted is man, and how futile, often, his greatest efforts to do good. The vanity of human wisdom and the utter imbecility of human legislation, in the removal of moral evil, was never more signally shown than in this grand struggle for the suppression of the slave trade. Instead of having been checked and suppressed, and the demons in human form who carried it on having been deterred from continuing the traffic by the dread penalty of death, as was confidently anticipated, it has gone on increasing in extent and with an accumulation of horrors that surpass belief. A glance at its history proves this but too fully, and shows that the warfare between good and evil is one of no ordinary magnitude.

Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, states, that the importation of slaves from Africa, in British vessels, from 1680 to 1786, averaged 20,000 annually. In 1792, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt both agreed in estimating the numbers torn from Africa at 80,000 per annum. From 1798 to 1810, recent English Parliamentary documents show the numbers exported from Africa to have averaged 85,000 per annum, and the mortality during the voyage to have been 14 per cent. From 1810 to 1815 the same documents present an average of 93,000 per annum, and the loss during the middle passage to have equalled that of the preceding period. From 1815 to 1819 the export of slaves had increased to 106,000 annually, and the mortality during the voyage to 25 per cent.

Here, then, is brought to view the extent of the evil which called for such energetic action, and which, it was hoped, could be easily crushed by legislation. Let us now look forward to the results.

While the slave trade was sanctioned by law, its extent could be as easily ascertained as that of any other branch of commerce; but after that period, the estimates of its extent are only approximations.

The late Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON devoted himself with unwearied industry to the investigation of the extent and enormities of the foreign slave trade. His labors extended through many years, and the results, as published in 1840, sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian world. He proved, conclusively, that the victims to the slave trade, in *Africa*, amounted annually to 500,000. This included the numbers who perish in the seizure of the victims, in the wars of the natives upon each other, and the deaths during their march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation. This loss he estimates at one half, or 500 out of every 1000. The destruction of life during the middle passage he estimates at 25 per cent., or 125 out of the remaining 500 of the original thousand. The mortality after landing and in seasoning he shows is 20 per cent. or one-fifth of the 375 survivors. Thus he proves that the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of *seven to three*—that is to say, for every 300 slaves landed and sold in the market, 700 have fallen victims to the deprivations and cruelties connected with the traffic.

The parliamentary documents above referred to vary but little from the estimates of Mr. Buxton, excepting that they do not compute the number of victims destroyed in Africa in their seizure and transportation to the coast. The following table, extracted from these documents, presents the average number of slaves exported from Africa to America, and sold chiefly in Brazil and Cuba, with the per cent amount of loss in the periods designated.

Date.	Annual average number exported.	Av'ge casualties of voyage.	
		<i>Per Ct.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
1798 to 1805	85,000	14	12,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14	12,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14	13,000
1815 to 1817	106,000	25	26,600
1817 to 1819	106,000	25	26,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	25	25,800
1825 to 1830	125,000	25	31,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25	19,600
1835 to 1840	135,800	25	33,900

This enormous increase of the slave trade, it must be remembered, had taken place during the period of vigorous efforts for its suppression. England, alone, according to McQueen, had expended for this object, up to 1842, in the employment of a naval force on the coast of Africa, the sum of \$88,888,888, and he estimated the annual expenditure at that time at \$2,500,000. But it has been increased since that period to \$3,000,000 a year, making the total expenditure of Great Britain, for the suppression of the slave trade, at the close of 1848, more than *one hundred millions of dollars!* France and the United States have also expended a large amount for this object.

The disclosures of Mr. Buxton produced a profound sensation throughout England, and the conviction was forced upon the public mind, and "upon Her Majesty's confidential advisers," that the

*slave trade could not be suppressed by physical force, and that it was "indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system calculated to arrest the foreign slave trade."*

The remedy proposed and attempted to be carried out, was "*the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources.*"

To accomplish this great work, the capitalists of England were to set on foot agricultural companies, who, under the protection of the Government, should obtain lands by treaty with the natives, and employ them in its tillage,—to send out trading ships and open factories at the most commanding positions,—to increase and concentrate the English naval force on the coast, and to make treaties with the chiefs of the coast, the rivers and the interior. These measures adopted, the companies formed were to call to their aid a race of teachers of African blood, from Sierra Leone and the West Indies, who should labor with the whites in diffusing intelligence, in imparting religious instruction, in teaching agriculture, in establishing and encouraging legitimate commerce, and in impeding and suppressing the slave trade. In conformity with these views and aims, the *African Civilization Society* was formed, and the Government fitted out three large iron steamers, at an expense of \$300,000, for the use of the company.

Mr. McQueen, who had for more than twenty years devoted himself to the consideration of Africa's redemption and Britain's glory, and who had become the most perfect master of African geography and African resources, also appealed to the Government, and urged the adoption of measures for making *all Africa a dependency of the British Empire*. Speaking of what England had already accomplished, and of what she could yet achieve, he exclaims:

"Unfold the map of the world: We command the Ganges. Fortified at Bombay, the Indus is our own. Possessed of the islands in the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we command the outlets of Persia and the mouths of the Euphrates, and consequently of countries the cradle of the human race. We command at the Cape of Good Hope. Gibraltar and Malta belonging to us, we control the Mediterranean. Let us plant the British standard on the island of Socotora—upon the island of Fernando Po, and inland upon the banks of the Niger; and then we may say Asia and Africa, for all their productions and all their wants, are under our control. It is in our power. Nothing can prevent us."

But Providence rebuked this proud boast. The African Civilization Society commenced its labors under circumstances the most favorable for success. Its list of members embraced many of the noblest names of the kingdom. Men of science and intelligence embarked in it, and, when the expedition set sail, a shout of joy arose and a prayer for success ascended from ten thousand philanthropic English voices.

But this magnificent scheme, fraught with untold blessings to Africa, and destined, it was believed, not only to regenerate her speedily, but to produce a revenue of unnumbered millions of dollars to the

stockholders, proved an utter failure. The African climate, that deadly foe to the white man, blighted the enterprise. In a few months, disease and death had so far reduced the numbers of the men connected with the expedition, that the enterprise was abandoned, and the only evidence of its ever having ascended the Niger exists in its model farm left in the care of a Liberian.

This result, however, had been anticipated by many of the judicious Englishmen who had not suffered their enthusiasm to overcome their judgments, but who had opposed it as wild and visionary in the extreme, on account of the known fatality of the climate to white men.

Thus did the last direct effort of England for the redemption of Africa prove abortive. The slave trade has still been prosecuted with little abatement, and for the last few years with an alarming increase. The statistics in the parliamentary report, before quoted, and from which we have extracted the table exhibiting the extent of the slave trade between Africa and America, down to 1839, also present the following table, including the numbers exported from Africa to America, from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, with the per cent. of loss in the middle passage and the amount.\* It is as follows:

Years.	Numbers.	Loss. Per Ct.	Amount.
1840	64,114	25	16,068
1841	45,097	25	11,274
1842	28,400	25	7,100
1843	55,062	25	13,765
1844	54,102	25	13,525
1845	36,758	25	9,189
1846	76,117	25	19,029
1847	84,356	25	21,089

Here, then, we have the melancholy truth forced upon us, that the slave trade was carried on as actively in 1847 as from 1798 to 1810; while the destruction of life during the middle passage has been increased from 14 per cent. to 25; and that while the vigorous means used to suppress the traffic, during these fifty years, have failed of this end, they have greatly aggravated its horrors.

And such was the conviction of the total inadequacy of the means which had been employed by the British Government to check or suppress the evil, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at the close of the year 1847, after declaring that the slave trade was then more actively and systematically prosecuted than for many years, and that its horrors had been greatly increased, urged upon the Government, from motives of humanity, the suspension of all physical force, and the repeal of all laws inflicting penalties upon

\* There is some discrepancy in the authorities from which we quote the figures. We have not had access to the original document. One of our authorities gives the whole number of these exports from Africa to Brazil, and a proportional number to Cuba. This would greatly increase all our estimates based upon the figures of this table.



those engaged in the traffic. It was proved that the slave traders, when closely pursued by vessels of war, often hide the evidences of their guilt, when favored by the darkness of the night, by burying the slaves with which they were freighted in the depths of the ocean; or by persevering in refusing to surrender, force the pursuing vessels to continue firing into them, and thus endanger and destroy the innocent victims crowded between the decks of their vessels. It was also urged that the African Civilization Society be revived, but that, instead of *white men*, the emigrants be taken from the better educated and more enlightened of the West India colored population. By the adoption of this course, and the civilization of the Africans along the coast, they hope to seal the fountain whence the evil flows.

This brief outline of the slave trade, and of the efforts made by Great Britain for its suppression, and the utter failure of the measures which she had adopted to accomplish that object, prove, conclusively, two points which American philanthropists had for years urged as settled truths, viz :

1. *That the planting and building up of Christian Colonies on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave trade.*

2. *That colored men only, can with safety, settle upon the African Coast.*

And so fully has the British Government now become convinced of the truth of these propositions, that Lord Palmerston has not only placed a naval force at the disposal of the President of Liberia for the suppression of the slave trade on territory recently purchased, where the slave traders refused to leave, but has, in connection with others, offered ample pecuniary means to purchase the whole territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, now infested by those traffickers in human flesh, with the view of annexing it to the little Republic, and thus rescuing it from their hands.

By this act, Englishmen have acknowledged the superiority of our scheme of African redemption over that of the philanthropists of Britain, and have thus given assurances to the world that their plan of *making Africa a dependency of the British Crown* has been abandoned, and that a change of policy toward our colony has been adopted. All their own schemes in relation to Africa having failed, they are constrained to acknowledge the wisdom and success of ours, and are the first to avail themselves of the commercial advantages afforded to the world by the creation of the Republic of Liberia.

But we shall, under another head, revert again to this subject, and present some facts which may serve to explain the course of England in her sudden expression of friendship and sympathy for our Colony.

## II. The efforts made, at an early day, for the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, with the results.

On this important question there was not the same unanimity of sentiment which had prevailed upon that of the slave trade. The love of ease, the prospect of gain, the fear that so large a body of ignorant men would be dangerous to the public peace, and many

other considerations, influenced the minds of a large number to oppose the liberation of the slaves. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the work progressed, until Acts of Emancipation were carried through the Legislatures of all the States north of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Nor was this good work confined to the States which were engaged in legislative enactments for emancipation. The feelings of humanity which dictated the liberation of the slave in the northern States, pervaded the minds of good men in the southern States also.

The full extent of the emancipations in the slave States cannot be accurately ascertained. The census tables, however, supply sufficient testimony on this point to enable us to reach a close approximation to the true number which have been liberated since 1790, when the first census of the United States was taken.

The following table gives the number of free colored people in 1790, with the number in all the subsequent periods up to 1840, and the increase in each ten years, together with the increase per cent. per annum.

## I.

*Table showing the number of the Free colored population of the United States.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	59,466	108,398	186,446	238,197	319,599	386,235
Actual increase		48,932	78,048	51,751	81,402	66,636
Increase per cent. per annum		8.22+	7.20+	2.77+	3.41+	2.08+

In 1790 the feeling in favor of emancipation, it will be seen, had given us a free colored population of nearly 60,000 persons. What proportion of these were *free-born* cannot be determined, but it would probably not exceed one-half.

The number of slaves in the free States, in 1790, and the *decrease* in each period, up to 1840, with the *annual decrease per cent.* was as follows :

## II.

*Table exhibiting the number of Slaves in the Free States from 1790 to 1840.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	40,212	35,803	27,181	18,001	2,774	764
Actual decrease		4,409	8,622	9,180	*15,227	2,010
Decrease per cent. per annum		1.23+	3.17+	5.04+	18.88+	26.30+

The *decrease* of the slaves in the free States, after 1790, is not greater than the deaths in a population of such a class of persons.

\* By a law of New York 10,000 slaves were emancipated in one day in 1827, thus decreasing the number of slaves, and increasing the free colored, as stated in this table

Pennsylvania passed her emancipation act in 1780, and the other states soon afterward followed her example, but at what periods we are not at present informed.\* It is probable that the free colored population was not increased by emancipations of the slaves remaining in the free states after 1790, because, as before stated, the decrease of these slaves did not exceed the mortality, excepting in 1827, when New York liberated all hers then remaining in bondage. Any increase of the free colored population, therefore, over their natural increase will have been produced *by emancipations in the slave states.*

The following table, taken in connection with table I, shows, that from 1830 to 1840 the increase of the free colored population was reduced to but a very small fraction over *two per cent.* per annum. Two per cent. per annum, therefore, may be taken as the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population. The excess over two per cent. must, then, have been derived from emancipations.

### III.

#### *Rate per cent. per annum of increase of Population of the United States.*

Years.	Whites.	Free colored	Slaves.	Free colored and Slaves.	All combined.
1790 to 1800	3.56	8.22	2.79	3.22	3.50
1800 to 1810	3.61	7.20	3.34†	3.75	3.64
1810 to 1820	3.43	2.77	2.95	2.93	3.33
1820 to 1830	3.38	3.41	3.01	3.06	3.32
1830 to 1840	3.46	2.08	2.32	2.33	3.26
Average	3.48	4.73	2.88	3.06	3.41

Adopting this rule of computation, we find that the emancipations in the slave states, from 1790 to 1830, must have been 131,700. If to this we add one-half of the number who were free in 1790, or 30,000, it makes the total emancipations up to 1830 amount to 161,700. The extent of the *pecuniary sacrifice made to the cause of emancipation* by benevolent men involved in slavery, will be better understood by estimating the number emancipated at \$350 each, which gives a product of \$56,595,000. This estimated value is low enough.

To this sum, however, should be added the number of slaves emancipated and sent to Liberia, which, up to 1843, amounted to 2,290. If to these are added the emancipated slaves sent out to

\* We find the following statement in relation to the number of slaves in the United States at an earlier period, in the American Almanac. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, the whole number of slaves was estimated at 500,000, viz.:

Massachusetts,	3,000	New Jersey,	7,600	N. Carolina,	76,000
Rhode Island,	4,370	Pennsylvania,	10,000	S. Carolina,	110,000
Connecticut,	5,000	Delaware,	9,000	Georgia,	16,000
New Hampshire,	629	Maryland,	80,000		
New York,	15,000	Virginia,	165,000	Total,	501,599.

† It should have been stated that Louisiana was admitted between 1800 and 1810, bringing in 39,000 Africans. This produced the increase of the ratio for 1810

Africa since that period, the number of which we cannot at present ascertain, we shall have more than another million of dollars to add to the above sum, thus making the amount sacrificed to the cause of emancipation but little short of *fifty-eight millions of dollars*.

But in granting the slave his freedom, it seemed to be decided by common consent, that the British statesman was right in asserting that *Negroes could not become Republicans*. The right of suffrage was not extended to them. The stimulus of entering into competition for the highest posts of honor was not afforded to the man of color to prompt him to great mental effort. Able to find employment only in the more menial occupations, his opportunities for intellectual advancement were poor, and his prospects of moral improvement still more gloomy.

These results of emancipation in the northern states were watched with great interest by the philanthropic citizens of the slave states. The liberation of the slaves in the free states had fallen so far short of securing the amount of good anticipated, that the friends of the colored man became less urgent and zealous in their efforts to secure further legislative action, while the opponent of the measure was furnished with a new argument to sustain him in his course of hostility to emancipation, and was soon able to secure the passage of laws for its prohibition, under the specious plea that a large increase of the free colored population by emancipation could not be productive of good either to themselves or to the whites.

That some powerful cause operated in checking emancipations after 1810, and that it again received a new impulse from 1820 to 1830, is undeniable. The number emancipated in the slave states, during the several periods, as is determined by the rule before adopted, was as follows :

1790 to 1800	emancipations were	37,042
1800 to 1810	“ “	56,414
1810 to 1820	“ “	14,471
1820 to 1830	“ “	33,772*
1830 to 1840	“ “	000

From 1790 to 1810 some of the most powerful minds in the nation were directed to the consideration of the enormous evils of slavery, and the effects of their labors are exhibited in the number of emancipations made during that period. The decline of emancipations after 1810, we believe to be due to the cause assigned above—the little benefit, apparently, which had resulted from the liberation of the slaves, and the consequent relaxation of effort by the friends of emancipation.

The impulse given to emancipation between 1820 and 1830, it is believed, was caused by the favorable influences exerted by the Colonization Society, which enjoyed a great degree of popularity during this period. But from 1830 to 1840, the period when the Society had the fewest friends, the increase of the free colored

\*The 10,000 emancipated in New York being deducted, will leave 23,772 in this period.



population was reduced to only two per cent. per annum, showing that emancipations must have nearly ceased, or that the deaths among our free colored people are so nearly equal to the births, that some decisive measures are demanded, by considerations of humanity, to place them under circumstances more favorable than they at present enjoy.

It may be well in this place to call attention to the fact, that while the natural increase of our free colored population *cannot exceed two per cent.* per annum, that of the slaves, notwithstanding the numerous emancipations, has been *three per cent.* per annum, excepting in the first period, when the disparity in the sexes produced by the slave trade might create a greater mortality than would afterward occur; and in the last period, between 1830 and 1840, during which the great revulsions in business, producing an immense number of bankruptcies in the south, caused thousands of embarrassed debtors to remove their slaves to Texas, beyond the reach of their creditors. The slaves thus removed, not being included in the census of 1840, caused a reduction in the ratio of our slave increase. See table III.

Thus we find, that in the earlier periods of our history, the promptings of philanthropy and the influence of Christian principle produced a public sentiment which controlled legislation, and broke the chain of the slave. And where legislation failed, it operated with equal power on the hearts of men, and produced the same salutary effects. But while emancipation was found to have produced to the white man the richest fruits, it was observed, with painful feelings, that to the colored man it had been productive of little else than the "Apples of Sodom."

These results of emancipation led to anxious inquiries in relation to the disposal of the free colored population. It was all-important, in the judgment of the friends of the colored man, that he should be placed under circumstances where the degradation of centuries might be forgotten, and where he might become an honor to his race and a benefactor to the world. The conviction forced itself upon their minds, *that a separate political organization—a Government of his own, where he would be free in fact as well as in name—*was the only means by which they could fully discharge the debt due to him, and place him in a position where his prospects of advancement would be based upon a sure foundation.

These remarks bring us to the consideration of the third branch of our subject.

### III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.

A separate political organization was decided upon, and Colonization, at a distant point, beyond the influence of the whites, considered the only means of future security to the colored man. To select the field for the founding of the future African Empire was not such an easy task. The history of the Indian tribes had proved, but too forcibly, that an establishment upon the territory of the United States

would soon become unsafe, in consequence of the rapid and universal extension of the white population. The unsettled state of the South American Republics was considered as offering still less security. Europe had no room for them, nor desire to possess them. England had already removed those cast upon herself and her Canadian possessions, by the casualties of war, back again to Africa, and founded her Colony of Sierra Leone. The only remaining point was Africa. Its western coast was of most easy access, being but little further from us than Havre or Liverpool. The condition of its native population offered many obstacles to the establishment of a colony. But the inducements to select it as the field of the enterprise in contemplation were also many. It was the land of the fathers of those who were to emigrate. It was deeply sunk in both moral and intellectual darkness. The lowest rites of Pagan worship were widely practised. Human sacrifices extensively prevailed, and even cannibalism often added its horrors to fill up the picture of its dismal degradation. And, as though the Spirit of Evil had resolved on concentrating in one point all the enormities that could be invented by the fiends of the nether pit, the slave trade was added to the catalogue, to stimulate the worst passions of the human heart, and produced developments of wickedness and of cruelty, at the bare recital of which humanity shudders. Except at a few points, no ray of moral light, to guide to a blissful eternity, had yet penetrated the more than midnight moral darkness which had for ages shrouded the land. The deadly influence of the climate, together with the interference of the slave trade, had hitherto defeated the success of missionary effort, and there seemed to be no hope for the moral renovation of Africa but through the agency of men of African blood, whose constitutions could become adapted to the climate, and who could thus gain a foothold upon the continent, repel the slave traders, and introduce civilization and the gospel.

Here, then was a field for the action of the freed-men of the United States. Here was a theater upon which to exhibit before the world the capacities of the colored race. Here, too, could be solved the problem of the value of the republican form of government. And, above all, here could be fully tested the regenerating, the elevating, and the humanizing power of the gospel of Christ.

In commencing the settlement of a colony of colored persons on the coast of Africa, two objects were to be accomplished:

1. To improve the condition of the free colored people of the United States.

2. To civilize and christianize Africa.

To these objects the friends of the colored man devoted themselves. The first emigrants were sent out in 1820. The pecuniary means of the society were never very great, and its progress in sending out emigrants and in building up the colony has necessarily been slow. From the first it met with violent opposition from the slave traders on the coast of Africa, who, by creating the impression upon the minds of the natives that the colonists would prevent their further connection

with the slave trade, and thus cut off their chief source of acquiring wealth, inflamed the minds of the chiefs, and prompted them to make war upon the colonists. Soon after the settlement of the colony, the native warriors, one thousand strong, attacked the emigrants, who numbered but thirty-five effective men. But a kind Providence shielded them from the infuriated savages who assailed them, and enabled that handful of men to defeat their foes, in two successive assaults, separated from each other by several weeks of time, and, finally, to establish themselves in peace in all their borders.

Additional emigrants, from year to year, were sent out. Missionaries labored, with more or less faithfulness, in establishing schools and in preaching the gospel. The natives, in a few years, became convinced that the colonists were their true friends, and that the adoption of civilized habits would secure to them greater comforts than could be obtained by a continuation of the slave trade. Their children were sent to school with those of the colonists. A moral renovation commenced and progressed until, in the course of twenty-six years from the landing of the first emigrants at Monrovia, the colony attained a condition of strength warranting its erection into an Independent Republic. Accordingly, in July, 1847, its independence was declared, and a population of 80,000 adopted the constitution and laws, and became members of the Republic. Its newly-elected President, J. J. ROBERTS, a man of color, in his recent visit to England, France and Germany, was treated with great respect, and found no difficulty in securing the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Liberia by the two former governments.

But it may be said, that, after all, but little has been done, compared with the means expended, in this effort to make provision for the free colored people, and for the introduction of a Christian civilization into Africa. A more striking view of the results will be brought out by contrasting the products of the labors of the American Colonization Society with some of the other efforts which have been made to rescue Africa from the wrongs inflicted upon her.

England, mighty in power, and possessing the means of executing magnificent enterprises, has expended, as already stated, more than one hundred millions of dollars for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa. But her labors and her treasures have been spent in vain. Her gold might better have been sunk in the ocean. The monster, hydra-like, when snitten and one head severed from the body, has constantly reproduced two in its place; and, at this moment, as before shown, it is prosecuted with greater activity than for many years.

It must be remembered that these efforts of Great Britain have been made during the period of the existence of the American Colonization Society, and in seeming contempt of its pigmy efforts. For years previous to the independence of Liberia, and while England was aiming at making Africa a dependency of her Crown, she, on several occasions, manifested a disposition to cripple the energies of our colony. And so extensive were the agencies she seems to have

employed, that it is now matter of wonder that she had not succeeded in wholly crushing the Colonization enterprise, and securing to herself the control of that richest of all the tropical portions of the world. But all her efforts at checking the progress of this heaven-born enterprise have been as fruitless as those adopted by her in reference to the slave trade, or for civilizing Africa. The fact stands acknowledged before the world, that Great Britain, after the expenditure of more than one hundred millions of dollars, has failed in suppressing the slave trade on one mile of coast beyond the limits of her colonies; while our colonization efforts have swept it from nearly *four hundred miles* of coast, where it formerly existed in its chief strength.

But why is it that there is such a marked indifference in the results? Why is it that the Colonization Society, with a yearly income sometimes of only \$10,000, and rarely ever reaching \$50,000, should have, in twenty-six years, annihilated the slave trade on 400 miles of coast, and secured the blessings of freedom to 80,000 men, formerly slaves, and have succeeded in binding, by treaties, 200,000 more, never again to engage in the traffic in their brethren,—while Great Britain, with all her wealth and power, has accomplished nothing?

We will not undertake to answer these questions. It cannot always be discerned by men why the Ruler of the Universe often defeats the best devised human schemes, which to them may seem certain of success; and prospers those which, to human foresight, were the least promising. We need only remind you that Great Britain has relied, almost exclusively, upon the employment of *physical force* to accomplish her purposes, while the Colonization Society has depended, as exclusively, upon *moral means*. The agencies it has employed have been the humble mechanic, the husbandman, the school-master, the missionary, and the Bible. And, though often thwarted in its purposes by those who felt interested in its overthrow, yet, relying upon moral means, and never resorting to force but in self-defense, it has signally triumphed and put to shame the wisdom of men and the power of kingdoms. Its operations have proved that the schoolmaster, the missionary, and the Bible, possess a moral power infinitely more potent than coronets and crowns.

These results go very far toward proving the truth of the proposition, announced in the outset,—that the Gospel of Christ is the medium through which God operates in bringing mankind into subjection to his will, and that a reliance upon any other means for the moral redemption of the nations of the world, must prove an utter failure.

In view of all these results, we are fully warranted in maintaining that the Colonization Society, in its measures for benefitting the colored people, has done an incalculable amount of good, and demands our confidence and our support, and that it is justly entitled to the paternity of three measures which have been productive of the greatest good to Africa:

1. The procuring of the first legal enactments declaring the slave trade piracy.



2. The total extinction of that cruel traffic from near 400 miles of the coast of Africa.

3. The establishment of an Independent Christian Republic on that continent.

There is another feature of this question, of the disposal of the free colored population of the United States, which demands attention, and is of the utmost importance in selecting for them a home. *The northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable home for men of African descent.* The evidence of the truth of this proposition is furnished by their own movements when left free to act. The census tables supply the testimony upon this subject.

By referring to table III, it will be seen that the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population is *two* per cent. per annum. The knowledge of this fact furnishes the key to determine the increase or decrease, by emigration, in any state or group of states.

#### IV.

*Free colored population in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont.*

YEARS.	1799.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Total number	13,126	17,317	19,488	21,248	21,331	22,634
Actual increase		4,191	2,171	1,760	83	1,303
Increase per cent. per annum		3.19	1.25	0.90	0.03	0.61
Slaves in do.	3,886	1,340	418	145	48	23

In the prosecution of the investigation of the question before us, *the effect of climate upon the African constitution*, we find that previous to 1790, the desire of the manumitted slave to escape from the scenes of his oppressions had given to the six New England states a free colored population of 13,126. From 1790 to 1800 the census tables show that the line of emigration was still northward, and augmented their ratio of increase more than one-third over the natural rate. But during the next forty years, ending with 1840, their ratio of increase, as shown in table IV, was rapidly diminished, and fell so far below the ratio of their natural increase, that from 1820 to 1830, with a free colored population of 21,248, they had an increase in these ten years of only *eighty-three* persons. The aggregate for the whole period stands thus: In 1810 they had a free colored population of 19,488, and in 1840 but 22,634, being an increase of only 3,146; while their natural increase, if retained, would have augmented their numbers to 33,648. This diminution must have been caused by emigration back again toward the south, because we find that New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had a corresponding increase during this period, with the exception of the last ten years, when they also lost a portion of their natural increase.

But this tendency of colored men to avoid northern latitudes is quite as fully proved by a comparison of the northern parts of New

York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their southern portions, as it is exhibited in the case of the New England States, when compared with those further south. Take, for example, a few of the counties in the north-east of Ohio. In 1840, Geauga had only 3 persons of color, Ashtabula 17, Lake 21, Portage 39, Summit 42, Medina 13, Lorain 62, Trumbull 70, and Cuyahoga, including the city of Cleveland, 121, in all 388. Now look at a few of the counties bordering the slave states and in the more southern part of the state. Belmont, in 1840, had 724, Gallia 799, Highland 786, Brown 614, Ross 1195, Franklin 805, and Hamilton 2546.

This contrast, which might be extended much further, reveals the fact, that any *one* of the last named counties, in the southern portion of the state, had nearly double, and several of them *more than double the number* of colored persons that the whole *eight* northern counties above named included.

But to give a more forcible illustration of the truth of our proposition, allow me to extend this contrast between the northern and southern counties of Ohio, so as to include the whole free colored population of the state. By drawing a line east and west across the state, so as to divide its territory into about equal parts, giving an excess of counties, as now divided, to the north, the result is, that in 1840, the 38 northern counties, now divided into 42, included only 2,360 persons of color, while the 40 counties of the southern half embraced a colored population of 15,000. And if we deduct Stark, Columbiana and Harrison on the east, and Mercer on the west, from the northern counties, they will have left, in the 36 remaining counties, a free colored population of only 1372, or a little more than half the number in Hamilton county. I append the list of all the counties, that it may be accessible to those who may wish to prosecute this investigation.\*

After making all due allowance for the alledged defect of energy in the colored man, as accounting for his not seeking a residence in the north; and what has still more influence on his mind—the greater indulgence which he finds from the planter of the south, now settled in our more southern counties, than he does from the northern man who is a stranger to his habits,—there is, we affirm, ample testimony to prove, that the northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable climate for men of African blood, and that they are congregating as far south as circumstances will permit. This fact, we insist, proves conclusively the necessity of securing a tropical home for colored men.

But in addition to all the foregoing details, which prove the inadaptation of northern latitudes to the African, we have, very recently, the fact revealed to us in a late census of Upper Canada, that in that province, where we had been a thousand times assured that from 20,000 to 25,000 runaway slaves from the United States had found refuge, there were, in 1847, barely 5,571 colored persons in the

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\*See Note, page 21.

colony. In this statement, however, which includes the whole twenty districts, there may be an error in one of them which may vary this result.

But I cannot dismiss this part of our subject without a few remarks. The citizens of our northern counties often charge us, of the southern, with being destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity and benevolence, because we are disposed to discourage the further immigration of colored men into the state, and because we advocate a separation of the races by colonization. And this they do with an apparent seriousness that warrants us in concluding that they believe what they say. Perhaps if we had only *three* to a county, like old

The following statement, referred to on the previous page, gives the colored population of Ohio in the several counties, commencing at the northern and southern extremities, as presented in the census of 1840.

Hamilton, . . . . .	2576	Ashtabula, . . . . .	17
Clermont, . . . . .	122	Lake, . . . . .	21
Brown, . . . . .	614	Geauga, . . . . .	3
Adams, . . . . .	63	Cuyahoga, . . . . .	121
Scioto, . . . . .	206	Trumbull, . . . . .	70
Lawrence, . . . . .	148	Portage, . . . . .	39
Gallia, . . . . .	799	Summit, . . . . .	42
Meigs, . . . . .	28	Medina, . . . . .	13
Jackson, . . . . .	315	Lorain, . . . . .	62
Pike, . . . . .	329	Erie, . . . . .	97
Highland, . . . . .	786	Huron, . . . . .	106
Butler, . . . . .	254	Sandusky, . . . . .	41
Warren, . . . . .	341	Ottawa, . . . . .	5
Clinton, . . . . .	377	Seneca, . . . . .	65
Ross, . . . . .	1195	Wood, . . . . .	32
Hocking, . . . . .	46	Lucas, . . . . .	54
Athens, . . . . .	55	Henry, . . . . .	6
Washington, . . . . .	269	Williams, . . . . .	2
Monroe, . . . . .	13	Paulding, . . . . .	0
Morgan, . . . . .	68	Van Wert, . . . . .	0
Perry, . . . . .	47	Mercer, . . . . .	204
Fairfield, . . . . .	342	Allen, . . . . .	23
Pickaway, . . . . .	333	Hancock, . . . . .	8
Fayette, . . . . .	239	Hardin, . . . . .	4
Greene, . . . . .	344	Marion, . . . . .	52
Clark, . . . . .	200	Crawford, . . . . .	5
Montgomery, . . . . .	376	Richland, . . . . .	65
Preble, . . . . .	88	Wayne, . . . . .	41
Darke, . . . . .	200	Holmes, . . . . .	3
Miami, . . . . .	211	Stark, . . . . .	204
Shelby, . . . . .	262	Carroll, . . . . .	49
Logan, . . . . .	407	Columbiana, . . . . .	417
Champaign, . . . . .	328	Harrison, . . . . .	163
Madison, . . . . .	97	Tuscarawas, . . . . .	71
Franklin, . . . . .	805	Coshocton, . . . . .	38
Licking, . . . . .	140	Knox, . . . . .	63
Muskingum, . . . . .	562	Delaware, . . . . .	76
Guernsey, . . . . .	190	Union, . . . . .	78
Belmont, . . . . .	742	Morrow, . . . . .	
Jefferson, . . . . .	497	Mahoning, . . . . .	
		Auglaize, . . . . .	
		Defiance, . . . . .	

Geauga, we, too, might be disposed to catch them for *pets*, to amuse our children, as we do mocking birds and paroquets. But with us the novelty of seeing a colored man has long since passed away, and we no longer make pets of them, *on account of color*, but treat them precisely as we do other men. The upright and industrious we respect and encourage. The immoral and degraded we wish anywhere else than in our households or as near neighbors.

## V.

*Free colored population in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	13,953	29,340	55,668	71,742	101,103	118,925
Actual increase		15,387	26,328	19,074	26,321	17,822
Increase per cent. per annum		11.02	8.97	3.42	3.54	1.76
Slaves in do.	36,484	34,471	26,663	17,856	2,732	742

But in addition to *climate*, the colored man has another formidable adversary to contend with. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as before stated, and as the figures in table V show us, had accessions to their colored population much beyond the natural increase on their original numbers up till 1830. But from 1830 to 1840 these states also commenced repelling their free colored population, and their ratio of increase was reduced considerably below *two* per cent. per annum—Pennsylvania, however, still having a ratio of  $2\frac{5.1}{100}$ , showing that she had not been as much affected as the other two states, though between 1820 and 1830 her ratio had been reduced to  $1\frac{7.9}{100}$  per cent. per annum.

## VI.

*Free colored population of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	24,718	47,979	77,633	89,817	116,141	128,781
Actual increase		23,261	29,654	12,184	26,324	12,610
Increase per cent. per annum		9.41	6.13	1.55	2.93	1.08
Slaves	405,350	457,584	508,197	537,060	576,043	530,087

## VII.

*Free colored population of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	7,174	11,247	16,621	23,205	29,950	33,761
Actual increase		4,073	5,374	6,584	6,745	3,811
Increase per cent. per annum		5.67	4.77	3.96	2.90	1.27
Slaves	236,930	338,851	470,407	613,148	778,533	853,799

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, also repulsed nearly one-half of their natural increase between 1830 and 1840, as exhibited in tables VI and VII, showing that the emigration from the northern states was not passing in that direction.

## VIII.

*Free colored population of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number	475	1,050	3,030	6,353	11,044	14,880
Actual increase		575	1,980	3,323	3,691	2,836
Increase per cent. per annum		12.10	18.85	10.96	7.35	3.47
Slaves	15,247	53,927	125,096	254,278	424,365	618,849

Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, though for a time, receiving large accessions of free colored people emigrating, probably, from Virginia and North Carolina, westward into their bounds, seem also to have checked it, between 1830 and 1840, to a considerable extent. But as more energetic measures have since been adopted to repel all immigration, extending even to *the selling of the intruders into slavery*, as was the case last year in Kentucky; the census of 1850 will no doubt exhibit a reduction of the ratio of these states, also, to the natural rate of increase, if not below it.

Louisiana, alone, of all the larger slave states, has maintained a uniform increase of her free colored population. Her position on the Mississippi affords great facilities to enterprising colored men, wishing to escape from the rigors of northern winters, to penetrate her territory.

## IX.

*Free colored population of Louisiana.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number			7,585	10,960	16,710	25,502
Actual increase				3,375	5,750	8,792
Increase per cent. per annum				4.44	5.24	5.26
Slaves			34,660	69,064	109,588	168,452

In the slave states, the prejudices and the rigid laws in relation to their free colored people, will account for the losses which they have sustained. But in New York and New Jersey, some other cause must have exerted a repelling influence, or there would not have been such a desertion of that region by colored men. This cause will, we believe, be found to exist in the *foreign emigration* into our country. The foreign emigrant, escaping from the tyranny of the despotisms which have so long crushed his energies, and where he had been accustomed to work for a mere subsistence, is overjoyed, on reaching this country, to receive a rate of wages for which the colored man is unwilling to labor. He is thus the most



formidable rival of the colored man, and supplants him in his employments and drives him from his temporary home. But while this *rivalry of the foreigner, the prejudice of the slave holder, and the influence of climate*, seem to create insuperable obstacles to the success of any scheme of securing to colored men a permanent home in the north, it affords a strong proof of the wisdom of the scheme of African Colonization, where the rivalry of white men and the influence of climate, or the prejudice against color, can never reach him or interrupt him in his pursuits.

But there is still another subject connected with the movements of the free colored people which greatly interests the citizens of Ohio. We have seen that a regular movement of the free colored population, from north to south, has been in progress ever since 1800, and that it was only checked, in its southern course, by reaching the borders of the slave states. But after 1830 this floating mass took a new direction. As the foreign emigration first touches the eastern coast, its effects are first felt there, and from thence it rolls westward. While the current of the colored emigration, therefore, is setting in from the north, it is met by this opposing tide from the east, and deflected to the west.

On turning to the west, we find that while this continuous stream of colored emigration has been pouring out of all the states north-east, east, and south-east of us, they have been concentrating with almost equal rapidity in the Ohio valley.

## X.

*Free colored population in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.*

YEARS.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total number		500	2,905	6,598	14,834	28,105
Actual increase			2,405	3,693	8,236	13,271
Increase per cent. per annum			48.10	12.71	12.48	8.94

Look at the figures in table X. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in 1800, had 500 free persons of color in their bounds. In 1840 they numbered 28,105. If the influx, since 1840, has been as great as in the preceding period, these three states will have a free colored population, at present, of over 50,000, of which the share of Ohio is 30,000.

To afford a more striking contrast of the position in which we stand, as compared with the six New England States, it is only necessary to say, that the ratio of the annual increase of the free colored population of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from 1820 to 1830, *doubled their numbers in eight years*, while that of the former six states would require, to double theirs, a period of *two hundred and fifty six years*.

But to avoid a charge of unfairness in selecting a period of only ten years, and that the most favorable to our purpose, we shall extend the contrast to forty years, from 1840 back to 1800, and the result is

still more startling. During this period of forty years, the six New England States did not increase their colored population quite one third, (it was  $\frac{3}{10}$ ) while Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have *doubled fifty-five times* on their original numbers. Our increase, therefore, when compared with theirs for a period of forty years, stands as 55 to  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Here, now, is presented a condition of things which demands the attention of the Legislature and the people of Ohio. We have, for years, been disposed to evade the question of the provision to be made for the people of color. The causes operating to concentrate them in the Ohio valley are beyond our control, and they must continue to congregate here. Nor can we check this movement by any ordinary precautions, were we disposed to make the effort, because we cannot, by any legislation of ours, reach the causes which compel them to leave the other states. We cannot change the climate of the north-east, nor mold the African constitution so that it may endure the rigors of its winters; and much less can we impart to the colored man a spirit of energy and activity in business which shall enable him to compete with the New Englander. We are still less able to roll back the mighty wave of foreign emigration, which, annually, supplies to the east a surplus of cheap labor, and drives the man of color from his employments, and compels him to wander to the west in search of bread. And it is still more impracticable for us to induce the slave states to repeal the laws and give up the prejudices which drive out the free colored man from amongst them. The colored people, if disposed, cannot extend westward and southward. The iron wall of slavery and the prohibitions in the new constitutions of Illinois and Iowa, will prevent emigration in that direction. They are, therefore, shut up, imprisoned among us, and instead of any diminution, we must prepare for an increase of their numbers.

It is a fact well understood, that in the slave states, no movement, *involving emancipation to any great extent, can now take place except in connection with the removal of the freedmen from among them.* Some of them at present talk of emancipation and colonization in Africa, but if we should open our doors as widely as many desire, the slave holder need not tax himself with the expense of the passage of his slaves to Liberia. It will be cheaper and less troublesome to let them alone, and they will soon put themselves under the care of their loving brothers across the Ohio river. And, in adopting this course, the slave holder may feel that he is conferring a favor upon us, because, on several occasions, where masters had emancipated their slaves, and started them for Liberia, they have been persuaded to escape to Ohio or Pennsylvania.

Several of the border states will, before many years, become free states, because of the growing conviction among the people that the presence of slaves upon their soil has created a blighting influence—that it has paralyzed the physical and moral energies of the white youth—that until the slaves are removed, the sons of their yeomanry will not engage in field labor, and that until this revolution is effected

the slave states cannot prosper as the free states have done. They are further convinced that the presence of colored people, as *free laborers*, will exert equally as baneful an effect upon the industry of the whites, as the presence of the slave has done. We have failed, in a twenty years war of words, to change these opinions. They know that their sons scorn the idea of laboring upon an equality with men of servile origin. This may all be wrong, but that does not alter the fact. The people of the slave states will never consent to emancipation, but in connection with the removal of the freedmen. This is their fixed purpose: and any measure for the melioration of the condition of the colored man which does not include this fact, and adapt itself to it, will be so far defective.

Now, it seems evident, that to whatever extent emancipation may take place, whether by individuals or by states; and further, to whatever degree the slave states may carry their hostility to the free colored people among them, and succeed in driving them out; to the same extent may we expect to be made the receivers of the unfortunate wanderers, unless we can divert the current of emigration in some other direction.

With all these facts before us—the influence of climate—the rivalry of the foreign emigrant—the prejudices of the slave holder—the adverse legislation of the slave states—the rapid concentration of the free colored people along the southern margin of the Ohio valley—and the impracticability of their emigrating further south or west—it must be apparent, at once, that we occupy a very different position from that of the New England States and the northern counties of Ohio. We are constantly receiving large accessions from the slave states. Many of our towns and villages have had their colored population doubled since 1840, and there is no prospect, at present, of their influx being checked.

The Ohio Black Laws, though designed, originally, to operate as a check upon colored immigration, have wholly failed of their object, and have only added another to the numerous inefficient measures adopted for protection against the evils generated by slavery—evils so numerous and complicated, that, often the remedies applied only increase the malady.

And here we must be allowed to remark, that few men can excel our northern friends in depicting the horrors of slavery. They have studied it chiefly in that point of view. Its degrading and brutifying tendencies, generating vices the most debasing and destructive, have been portrayed, but too truly, in our hearing, by them, a thousand times. They, of course, expect us to believe their statements and to adopt their views of the odiousness of the system.

Now, in return, we ask of them that they shall believe us. And if one half they have told us be true, in relation to the low state of morals—the deep and damning depravity of the victims of slavery—then visit us with the plague, or any other *physical calamity*, rather than bring this *moral pestilence* into contact with our children. We speak but the common sentiment of the great mass of our citizens.

These sentiments are not generated by hostile feelings to the colored man, any more than the missionary, who wishes to guard well the virtues of his children and impart to them a nobility of thought and sentiment, should be charged with hating the degraded Hindoo or Hottentot, for whose intellectual and moral elevation he risks his life, because he sends his children back to a Christian country to be educated by Christian friends.

Many of the first settlers of southern Ohio had fled from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas, to rear their families beyond the reach of the demoralizing effects of slavery, and in the enactment of the Black Laws they hoped to erect an impassable barrier between themselves and slavery, or any of its fruits.

It was not prejudice against color, alone, that dictated the passage of the Black Laws of Ohio, and which has kept them so long upon our statute book, but it was a dictate of self-preservation. It was a determination to confine slavery, with all its fruits, within the limits where it existed, and to guard themselves and their children against moral contamination by contact with those unfortunate beings whose deplorable degradation has been so eloquently, and often, but too truly delineated to us.

A repeal of the Black Laws may be proper ;\* some modification of them, at least, is demanded. But it forms no part of the task assigned us to express an opinion on the subject. This much, however, we can say, that something more is needed than the repeal of these laws, before the colored man can have justice done him, or the public mind be satisfied with the posture of affairs.

Nor can we be persuaded that he who rarely ever sees a colored person, and who knows nothing of the unfavorable circumstances in which a majority of the colored people are placed, where they are congregated in large numbers, is the proper man to mature measures for their relief. He has not the opportunity of forming a practical judgment in the case, and his schemes, therefore, will be more apt to partake of the *visionary* than the *practicable*.

But we are told that it is our duty to labor for the elevation and improvement of the colored man, and thus prepare him for citizenship. In reply, it is only necessary to say, that of the importance of this duty the friends of colonization are fully aware, and to discharge it is their direct and proposed aim ; but through the unhappy opposition of their enemies, in this good work, who have assumed to be exclusively the friends of the man of color, inducing him to believe that we are his "*inveterate enemies*," we have been, to a great extent, excluded from that access to him requisite to the fulfillment of our wishes. The colored people, therefore, are not accessible to us, and the responsibility of their improvement does not rest upon us, but upon those who have them in charge. And even if they were accessible to us, and we had their confidence, should the emigration from the other states continue to be as rapid as heretofore, the execution

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\*This lecture was written before their repeal by the present Legislature.



of the task of their education would be a burthen too heavy for Ohio to bear. But had we the means, the circumstances of inequality, to which reference has already been made, and which neither authoritative legislation nor the resolves of voluntary associations can remedy, forbid the hope of giving that form and measure of education requisite to qualify any man for the high duties and enjoyments of citizenship.

What then can we do? No large body of men will long remain contented in the bosom of any community or nation, unless in the enjoyment of equal social and political rights. Ignorant, and vicious, and lazy men are dangerous in any community; because, not understanding their true interests, and but little inclined to do their duty, they are easily turned into an engine of evil to society. Our own peace and safety, therefore, demand that we should secure to our colored people *the blessings of education and the advantages of political equality*.

But we firmly believe that the first of these objects, the education of the free colored people, can only be accomplished under circumstances where the colored man can, by the labor of his own hands, provide for his own wants, while he is prosecuting his studies. And we as fully believe, that such a combination of circumstances as will make the thorough education of our colored people practicable, exists only in Liberia. In that climate winter makes no demands, and the labor of one man will easily support three. Schools are already organized, and every parent is required by law to educate his children. In a climate, like ours, however, demanding almost constant labor during summer to provide for winter, and where schools are accessible to but few of the colored people, there is but little to encourage the hope that their education can become general. To this conclusion intelligent colored men themselves have arrived, and the erection of the *Colored Manual Labor School*, near Columbus, Ohio, where 200 acres of land have been secured for this object, and paid for, chiefly, by contributions from colored men—where education and labor can go hand in hand—shows the strength of the hold which this conviction has upon their minds. But the advantages of such an institution cannot be enjoyed by very many. At most, only a few hundreds can be accommodated at the same time. Such an institution, therefore, while it may be of immense advantage to a few, cannot be relied upon to secure general education; and advantageous as it may be to those few, still it will be very partial; far from reaching that high education which gives *character*, and without which, for the standing and happiness of the citizen, mere learning is, comparatively, of little value.

We are also as fully convinced that it will be equally as impracticable, as their general education, to secure to our free colored people the advantages of *political equality* any where else than in the Republic of Liberia, or in a new one of their own creation upon that continent.

That the free colored population of our country can be raised to that degree of moral and intellectual elevation which they should possess, without the enjoyment of all the social and political privileges which are the natural birthright of man, none will pretend to



claim. These blessings must be secured to them before any material advancement can be expected from them. But the opposition to granting them equal social and political privileges in Ohio is a "fixed fact." It is believed that no permanent good to the colored man could grow out of such a measure. *The granting to him the right of suffrage has been productive of no good in the states which have conceded to him that privilege.* Instead of increasing their free colored population, since that act of liberality, these states have had a regular diminution of it. The right of suffrage to the colored man, where the whites have a large preponderance of numbers, seems of about the same utility as the tin rattle, or little doll, presented to the discontented child, to amuse it and keep it from crying.

It is the settled conviction of nearly all our thinking men, that colored men, intellectually, morally, or politically, can no more flourish in the midst of the whites, than the tender sprout from the bursting acorn can have a rapid advance to maturity beneath the shade of the full-grown oak; while the light of the sun, so essential to its growth, penetrates not through the thick foliage to impart its invigorating influences to the humble tenant of the soil; and where, each day, it is liable to be crushed under the feet of those who seek shelter from the noon-day heat beneath the boughs of its lordly superior.

This is no overwrought picture of the condition of the free colored people among us. Those stimulants to mental and moral effort, which beget such a superiority in citizens of free governments, reach not to the mind of the colored man, to rouse him to action. And so fully convinced of this fact are intelligent colored men themselves becoming, that they are beginning to act in concert in reference to securing the necessary territory to adopt a separate political organization. This affords strong grounds for hoping that the day of their political redemption is dawning. Heretofore they have been deluded with the hope that their elevation would be effected among the whites; that hope is now fading from their minds. The adoption of measures to secure a distinct political organization is an acknowledgment of the truth, *that a separation from the whites is essential to the prosperity of the colored man, and that colonization at some point offers to him his only hope of deliverance.* This is an important step in the progress toward a settlement of this vexed question.

It is true, that, at present, an eye is turned, by many of those who are agitating this subject, toward a grant of land from Congress out of the territory acquired from Mexico. As this is the only territory now at the disposal of Congress, and as the question of its future ownership will be settled during the next year, at furthest, there will soon be a decision of that matter. Out of that territory, if any where on the continent, must the donation of lands be made for the future African state. And upon it, or to Liberia, must the wave of emigration roll when it recedes from our borders.

Here, then, we perceive that this question is assuming a new and definite form. *A separate political organization* is desired by many of the colored men. But they think Liberia is too distant, and too

unhealthy, and therefore wish a grant out of New Mexico or California. There is, perhaps, not a man in this audience, nor in the north, who would object to such a grant for such a purpose, so far as the grant of United States' property is concerned. Your speaker, for his part, is willing to raise up both hands and shout at the topmost pitch of his voice, in the ears of Congress, to secure it, if he thought it could be obtained, and that it would, to the occupant, be a peaceful possession, and safe for the country. But he believes it is idle, it is wicked, longer to keep the poor colored man pursuing phantoms which always must elude his grasp. We say, frankly, that we have no hope that such a grant of territory can be had from Congress. And even if it could, dare we hope that it would prove a peaceful home, such as prudent Christian men would wish to leave as a legacy to their children? Its proximity to the slave states, it is feared, might lead to continual collisions.

It is useless, however, to discuss this question, because, whenever our intelligent colored men are put in possession of the facts in relation to Liberia, they must greatly prefer it to any point on this continent.

We are aware that some of the colored orators declaim loudly against any attempts to persuade the free colored people to emigrate to Africa, while *three millions* of their brethren remain behind in slavery. Now, it is very natural that a benevolent heart should dictate such feelings, and we must respect their motives. But we would remind all such objectors to emigration to Liberia, that while three millions of their brethren are enchained here, there are, according to the best authorities, one hundred and ten millions in Africa, *eighty millions* of whom are of their own caste, including, no doubt, their own blood relations, who are mostly crushed under a system of oppression and of cruelty, and reduced to a condition of moral degradation, compared with which, American slavery, with all its woes, is bliss itself. These eighty millions of men are nearly all destitute of the gospel of Christ, and, consequently, *without the elements of an intellectual and moral renovation*. The sale of their brethren into slavery, excepting in a few sunny spots, illuminated by Christian colonies, still continues with all its attendant horrors. The slave trade, baffling the utmost exertions for its suppression, is still prosecuted with unabated vigor. 'Its wretched victims are still found wedged together in the foul and close recesses of the slave ships, with scarcely space enough to each for the heart to swell in the agony of its despair.' All hope that it can be suppressed by operations *on the ocean* are at an end. It must be assailed where it originated,—*on the land*. The instrumentality to be employed must be that which the result of long experience dictates,—*the gospel*. The agents to perform this great work are as clearly designated—*colored Christian colonists*. This combined agency of the *gospel and colonization* has already begun to redress the wrongs of Africa. "It is fast restoring a continent shrouded in the darkness of accumulated centuries, to the lights of civilization and Christianity. It is opening up to that degraded and impoverished people, new sources of prosperity and

new fields of enterprise in the boundless resources of that great continent.' The agencies so successfully begun by the colonization scheme, need only to be sufficiently augmented to secure the regeneration of Africa.

Then, with such ample provision made for the free colored man, and with such a field of future greatness and of glory opening up before him, why should he not be encouraged, and why not *aided*, to enter upon his rich inheritance, instead of begging for a home on this continent, where, at best, his future prospects would be overcast with gloom. Does the man of color wish to speak to the southern slave-holder in tones that can be heard and will be respected? instead of relying upon *the feeble cry of three and a half millions* in this country, Africa has *eighty millions of voices* which he may control, and whose united shout for freedom to the slave, would shake the fetters from his limbs and give him liberty.

#### IV. The practicability of Colonizing the free people of color.

The best mode of discussing the practicability of any scheme, is, first to ascertain what is to be accomplished. The following list of the twenty-four principal states, and the number of free colored people in each, in 1840, presents the amount of persons to be provided for, and the manner of their distribution throughout the union.

Maine,	1,355	Pennsylvania,	247,854	Tennessee,	5,524
N. Hampshire,	537	Ohio,	17,342	N. Carolina,	22,732
Massachusetts,	8,669	Indiana,	7,165	S. Carolina,	8,276
Rhode Island,	3,238	Illinois,	3,598	Georgia,	2,753
Connecticut,	8,105	Delaware,	16,919	Mississippi,	1,366
Vermont,	730	Maryland,	62,020	Missouri,	1,574
New York,	50,027	Virginia,	49,842	Alabama,	2,039
New Jersey,	21,044	Kentucky,	7,317	Louisiana,	25,502

It will be seen, under our first head, that the number of human beings torn from Africa, on American account alone, in 1847, all of whom, perhaps, were for the Brazilian market, amounted to 84,356. Now, we would ask whether this fact does not furnish a useful lesson upon the subject of the practicability of Colonization *from the United States to Africa*.

*The total annual increase of the whole colored population of the United States, slave and free, from 1830 to 1840, was 54,356, or, 30,000 less than the exports of slaves, in 1847, from Africa for the American market.*

*The whole number of the free colored population of the United States, in 1840, was 386,235, or only a little over four and a half times greater than one year's importation from Africa.*

*The total increase of the free colored population of the United States, from 1830 to 1840, was 6,664, annually, making the number torn from Africa, in one year, more than twelve and a half times as great as the whole annual increase of the free colored population of the United States.*

*The total free colored population of Ohio, is, at present, about*

30,000, and that of Indiana and Illinois 20,000. The other states will have but a small advance on their free colored population of 1840. The exports of slaves from Africa, in one year, are, therefore, nearly three times greater than the whole number of free colored people at present in Ohio; more than four times that of Indiana and Illinois; nearly four times that of the six New England states in 1840; nearly double that of Pennsylvania; thirteen thousand more than that of New York and New Jersey; four thousand more than Delaware and Maryland; nearly double that of Virginia; nearly seventeen thousand more than double that of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; nearly six times that of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama; and nearly four times that of Louisiana.

If, therefore, a set of desperadoes, not so numerous but that they have eluded detection and capture, can, in one year, accomplish all that is here enumerated, what could not the united efforts of the legislatures of the several states accomplish, without oppressive taxation, were they simultaneously to commence the work of colonizing the free colored people?

Suppose each of the states in the foregoing list, were, as a preparatory measure, to appropriate to the Colonization Society, one dollar for each colored person in their bounds, the sum of \$375,528 would be raised, being about one half the whole sum expended by the society since its origin. Now, there is scarcely one of the states named, which could not give an annual appropriation of the sum stated, without the tax being felt by its people.

The sum required by this scheme, to be expended by Ohio, would be only *one cent and a half* for each of the two millions of her present population. To pay the expenses of the transportation of her whole 30,000 free colored people, at \$50 each,—the sum for which the colonization society agrees to take out emigrants—would cost but *seventy-five cents* for each person. But suppose Ohio could prevent all further immigration into the state, and would agree to send out *the natural increase only*, which, at two per cent. on 30,000, would be 600, the tax would be but *one cent and a half* to each citizen of the State.

Then, who will say that it will not be *practicable* to raise this sum in Ohio, on condition that six hundred persons of color, annually, would volunteer to emigrate? And which of the other states would decline entering into a measure of such easy accomplishment? We trust not one.

As it may amuse the curious, and furnish a rule to determine the quota of each state for paying the cost of emigration of *its natural increase*, we would here state, that one dollar per head, for the whole free colored population, is exactly fifty dollars a head for the natural increase,—the ratio of increase being two per cent. One dollar a head, for each free colored person in a state, will, therefore, transfer its natural increase to Africa, and put them in possession of a homestead upon which to make a living.

I shall not, here, refer to the probabilities of the free colored people



being willing to accept the offered boon of a home in Liberia, but leave it to another branch of our subject.

V. The influence of Colonization upon the native Africans, and upon Missionary efforts in Africa.

On these points we shall study great brevity. The influence of colonization upon the native Africans has been, in all respects, beneficial. It is only necessary to state, that in purchasing the lands from the native kings and head men, and thus securing the right of sovereignty over the soil, the inhabitants are at once secured in the protection of the laws of the Liberian government, and in the enjoyment of its advantages. Those held in slavery, and they constitute about eight-tenths of the population, are at once emancipated. The same care is taken in promoting their education that is observed in the instruction of emigrants from the United States. When sufficiently advanced in intelligence, they are admitted to the rights of citizenship. In this way, 75,000 of the natives have been emancipated from slavery, and secured in all the rights of freemen. By treaties with surrounding tribes, 200,000 more are bound not to engage in the slave trade, nor to go to war amongst themselves. These treaties secure to the respective tribes embraced, the protection of the Republic against all other hostile tribes. A breach of the conditions of these treaties, on the part of any tribe, forfeits the protection of the colony. Thus, for ten years past, the colony has preserved peace amongst many petty tribes whose trade formerly was war. Colonization, therefore, in many respects, has done great good to Africa. And, in addition to all this, we may add, that such is the favorable impression which our colonies are beginning to send abroad among the native tribes, that, recently, six kings have combined and annexed their territories, including one hundred miles of coast, to the Maryland colony. This statement we have met with, as coming from *Rev. Mr. Pinney*, for a time the governor of Liberia. The motive prompting these kings to annex, is, that they may enjoy the protection of the colony.

The History of Missionary efforts in Western Africa, fully sustains the truthfulness of the pictures which have been drawn of the fatality of the climate to the white man, and of the dreadful moral darkness which overspreads the land.\*

Catholic missionaries labored for two hundred and forty-one years, but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians, beginning in 1736, toiled for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and effected nothing. An English attempt, at Bulama Island, in 1792, partly missionary in its character, was abandoned in two years, with a loss of one hundred lives. A mission sent to the Foulahs, from England, in 1795, returned without commencing its labors. The London,

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\* We have drawn our facts mostly from Mr. Tracy's history of Colonization and Missions.



Edinburgh and Glasgow society, commenced three stations in 1797, which were extinct in three years, and five of the six missionaries dead. The Church missionary society sent out its first missionaries in 1804, but it was four years before they could find a place out of the colony of Sierra Leone, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations. But the hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from nine of them, and forced them to take refuge in Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. The tenth station at Goree, was also abandoned and given up to the French.

"Here, then, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of climate, and the hostility of the natives, generated by the opposition of the slave traders." And, since the settlement of Liberia, until 1845, when these investigations were completed, all attempts to sustain missions beyond the influence of the Colony have also failed.

"But while we mourn over these failures in attempts to do good to Africa, it is a source of the most profound gratitude to have the facts placed authentically before the world, that every attempt at colonizing Africa *with colored persons, and every missionary effort connected with the Colonies*, either of England or America, have been successful."

These facts prove, conclusively, that while other lands may be approached and blessed by other methods, the only hope for Africa appears to be in Colonization by persons of color. This is the only star of promise which kindles its light on her dark horizon. It is the only apparent means of her salvation.

"After the presentation of such an array of facts, extending over a period of *four centuries*, may we not claim that the question is decided—that the facts of the case preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt—that *the combined action of Colonization and mission is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.*"

And who that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work, and labor, through good report and through ill, for the concentration of all the talent and piety, belonging to the colored people, upon that coast? Who that truly desires the redemption of the African race from their degradation of accumulated centuries, but would rejoice to see hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, of the virtuous and intelligent of our colored population, like so many angels of mercy, flocking to Africa, and employed in that labor of love which must be performed before Ethiopia can stretch out her hands to God?

After what has been said, in relation to the low state of morals amongst the slaves, and the new accessions of colored emigrants which we are likely to receive from the slave states, it is proper, in this place, that we should present some explanation. Our observa-

tions, it will be noticed, were based upon the representations made by our northern friends on the degrading and brutifying tendencies of slavery, and were offered, partly, as a retort upon them for wishing to overstock us with such a population as they must necessarily believe will emanate from the midst of slavery, while they themselves scarcely touch the burthen with the tip of the finger. Our views, however, differ materially from theirs, in relation to the moral condition of the slaves.

While we believe that slavery, like despotism in any other form, in itself considered, contains no one principle which tends to elevate and improve the intellect and the heart, yet we know that there are accidents connected with it, in this country, as there have been with despotism in Europe, which afford to its victims the means of improvement. We believe that the Providence of God never places men, towards whom he has designs of mercy, in circumstances where the gospel of Christ is not adapted to their condition. That gospel, we know, has spoken peace to thousands of poor slaves, and whispered to their desponding hearts the hope of freedom in heaven. It is undeniable, that an immense degree of intellectual and moral advancement, beyond that of the native of Africa, has been made by the slaves of the United States, under all the disadvantages to which they have been subjected. It is true, that thousands of masters are laboring with much success for the moral and religious improvement of their slaves. It is well known, that the moral character and religious principle of many a slave will compare with and excel that of many of the whites, even in the north. It is certain, that the voluntary emancipations which occur, are by this class of masters and from this class of slaves. And it is a fact, that the greater number of the newly emancipated slaves, who come to the free states, have more or less acquaintance with their social, moral, and religious duties, and are more or less disposed to make further efforts for their own advancement. And knowing and believing all this, we are prepared to take them by the hand and to encourage them to the full extent of the numbers that we are able to receive. We are also prepared to coöperate with, and do aid them, in their efforts at education. In the village in which your speaker resides, a Presbytery of the church with which he is connected, pays, regularly, from a donation by a deceased member, the half of the salary of a teacher for a colored school. From observation there, and elsewhere, we have learned that though but a small portion of the parents have a right appreciation of the importance of education and of the arduousness of the task of acquiring knowledge, yet, upon the whole, they manifest fully as much interest in the work as the same number of whites would do, who possess no higher a standard of intellectual attainment.

Were it in our power, therefore, to increase the facilities for their education a thousand fold, we would do it at once. Because we feel it to be an imperative duty resting on the white men of the United States, allowing of no halfway measures or efforts,

to labor for the redemption of Africa, and to repair the wrongs that have been done her.

But to execute this task, we must call to our aid men of African blood. We should have one teacher or missionary for every 1000 inhabitants. To supply the whole 80,000,000 of people of color in Africa, with teachers and missionaries, will, therefore, require an educated army of 80,000 colored men, who must be supplied from the United States and from Liberia. While, then, we struggle to elevate and improve the colored man in the United States, we point him to Africa as the field of usefulness in which we wish to see him labor.

VI. The certainty of success of the Colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

In the facts which have been already presented, in the course of our investigations, many reasons will be found to encourage our hopes that the colonization scheme must continue to prosper, and that the experiment of an African Republic must succeed. We shall now proceed to offer additional facts and considerations of much more weight and importance on this point, than any which we have, yet, produced. The first and more important is based upon *the commercial advantages*, in Africa, which Liberia is beginning to unfold to civilized nations. But as time will not allow us to enter upon an extended investigation of the peculiar advantages which each nation will derive from the civilization of Africa, we shall confine ourselves to those of England, because she is more vitally interested in the success of Liberia than all the others. When the facts in her case are known, it will be easy to make the application to other nations. It will be seen, in the course of these investigations, that it is of the utmost importance to England to aid the Republic of Liberia in extending its influence with all possible rapidity over the continent of Africa. The reasons upon which we base this opinion are briefly as follows :

Next to the necessity under which the government of Great Britain is laid to create new markets for her manufactures, comes the vast importance which she attaches to having the control of *tropical possessions and tropical productions*. Their importance to her heretofore, in contributing to give to her the ascendancy which she acquired amongst nations, was thus strongly stated by McQUEEN, in 1844, when this highly intelligent Englishman was urging upon his government the great necessity which existed for securing to itself the control of *the labor and the products of tropical Africa*.

“During the fearful struggle of a quarter of a century, for her existence as a nation, against the power and resources of Europe, directed by the most intelligent but remorseless military ambition against her, *the command of the productions of the torrid zone*, and the advantageous commerce which that afforded, gave to Great Britain the power and the resources which enabled her to meet, to combat, and to overcome, her numerous and reckless enemies in

every battle-field, whether by sea or by land, throughout the world. In her the world saw realized the fabled giant of antiquity. With her hundred hands she grasped her foes in every region under heaven, and crushed them with resistless energy."

If the possession and control of tropical products gave to England such immense resources, and secured to her such superiority and such power, then, to be deprived of these resources would of course exert a corresponding opposite effect, and she would not yield them to another but in a death-struggle for their maintainance. Now, we expect to prove that this struggle has commenced and progressed to a point of the utmost interest, both to England and to the cause of humanity; and that the present moment finds Great Britain in a position so disadvantageous, arising from the progress of other nations in tropical cultivation, that one principal means of her extrication is in the success of Liberia.

Mr. McQueen, in proceeding further with his investigations, reveals to us the true position of England by the following startling announcement:

"The increased cultivation and prosperity of foreign tropical possessions is become so great, and is advancing so rapidly the power and resources of *other nations*, that these are embarrassing this country (England,) in all her commercial relations, in her pecuniary resources, and in all her political relations and negotiations."

The peculiar force of these remarks, and the cause for alarm which existed, will be better understood by an examination of the figures in the following table. They contrast the condition of Great Britain as compared with only a few other countries, in the production of *three articles, alone, of tropical produce.*

SUGAR—1842.

British possessions. -		Foreign countries.	
West Indies,	cwts. 2,508,552	Cuba,	cwts. 5,800,000
East Indies,	" 940,452	Brazil,	" 2,400,000
Mauritius, (1841)	" 544,767	Java,	" 1,165,757
Total	3,993,771	Louisiana,	" 1,400,000
		Total.	10,705,757

COFFEE—1842.

West Indies,	lbs. 9,186,555	Java,	lbs. 134,842,715
East Indies,	" 18,206,448	Brazils,	" 135,000,800
Total	27,393,003	Cuba,	" 33,589,325
		Venezuela,	" 34,000,000
		Total	337,432,840

COTTON—1840.

West Indies,	lbs. 427,529	United States,	lbs. 790,479,275
East Indies,	" 77,015,917	Java,	" 165,504,800
To China, from do.	" 60,000,000	Brazil,	" 25,222,828
Total	137,443,446	Total	981,206,903



But that this exhibit may convey its full force to the mind, it must be observed, that nearly three-fourths of this *slave-grown produce*, has been created, says McQueen, within thirty years preceding the date of his writing. (1844.)

It will be noticed, also, that the whole of these products, with the exception of those of Java and Venezuela, are the produce of slave labor; and it must be remembered, also, that the perpetuation and increase of this labor is, in a great degree, except in Louisiana, *depending upon the slave trade for its continuance*. It is easy, then, to perceive, from the foregoing facts, that the slave trade has been very sensibly and very seriously affecting the interests of the British government—that it has been an engine in the hands of other nations, by which they have thrown England into the back ground in the production of those articles of which she formerly had the monopoly, and which had given to her such power—and *that Great Britain must either crush the slave trade, or it will continue to paralyze her*.

Here is the true secret of her movements in reference to the slave trade and slavery. Public sentiment, *under the control of Christian principle*, compelled her in 1808, to a first step in this great work of philanthropy; and this step, once taken, there could be no retreat. But this first step, *the abolition of the slave trade in her colonies*, gave to Spain and Portugal all the advantages of that traffic, and the cheaper and more abundant labor, thus secured, gave a powerful stimulus to the production of tropical commodities in their colonies of Cuba and Brazil, and soon enabled them to rival, and greatly surpass England, in the amount of her exports of these articles.

But the investigations which had led to the knowledge of the enormities of the slave trade, necessarily exhibited the evils of slavery itself. Public opinion decreed the annihilation of both, and the British government had no other alternative but to comply. The means to which she resorted for the suppression of the slave trade, and their failure hitherto, have been already noticed. The measures adopted for the emancipation of her West India slaves, have resulted still more unfavorably to her interests than those for the extinction of the slave trade.

It was considered absolutely necessary to the prosperity of England, that she should regain the advantageous position which she had occupied in being the chief producer of tropical commodities. But to effect this, it was necessary that she should be able to double the exports from her own Islands, and greatly diminish those of her rivals. This could be accomplished, only, by an increase of laborers from abroad, or by stimulating those on the Islands to double activity in their work. An increase of laborers from abroad could only be secured by a resort to the slave trade, which was impossible; or to voluntary emigration from other countries to the Islands, which was improbable. The only remaining alternative was to render the labor already in the Islands more productive.



This could not be done by the *whip*, as it had already expended its force, and could not afford the relief demanded. This position of affairs made the government willing to listen to the appeals of the friends of West India emancipation. They had long argued that free labor was *cheaper* than slave labor—that *one freeman, under the stimulus of wages, would do twice the work of a slave compelled to industry by the whip*—that the government, by immediate emancipation, could demonstrate the truth of this proposition, and thus furnish a powerful argument against slavery—that the world should be convinced that the employment of slave labor is a great *economic error*—and that this truth, once believed, the abolition of slavery would every where take place, and the demand for slaves being thus destroyed, the slave trade must cease. Parliament, yielding to these arguments, passed her West India Emancipation act, 1833, with certain restrictions, by which the liberated slaves were to be held by their old masters as apprentices, partly until Aug. 1, 1838, and partly until Aug. 1, 1840. This apprenticeship system, however, being productive of greater cruelties than even slavery, the Legislative councils of the Islands, coerced by public sentiment in England, were forced to precipitate the final emancipation of the slaves, and on Aug. 1, 1838, they were declared free. This act at once brought on the crisis in the experiment. The results are stated in the following official table, taken from the Westminster Review, 1844.

Sugar Exported from	Average of 1831-2-3. 3 yrs. of Slavery.	Average of 1835-6-7. 3 yrs. of Apprent'ship.	Average of 1839-40-41. 3 yrs. of Freedom.
St. Vincent,	23,400,000 lbs.	22,500,000 lbs.	14,100,000 lbs.
Trinidad,	18,923 tons.	18,255 tons.	14,828 tons.
Jamaica,	86,080 hhd.	62,960 hhd.	34,415 hhd.
Total W. Indies,	3,841,153 cwt.	3,477,592 cwt.	2,396,784 cwt.

This immense and unexpected reduction of West India products under the system of freedom, was cause of great alarm. The experiment which was to prove the superiority of *free labor* over that of *slave labor* had failed. The hope of *doubling the exports* by that means was blasted. \$500,000,000\* of British capital, invested in the Islands, says McQueen, was on the brink of destruction for want of laborers to make it available. The English government found her commerce greatly lessened, and her home supply of tropical products falling below the actual wants of her own people. This diminution rendered her unable to furnish any surplus for the markets of those of her colonies and other countries which she formerly supplied. These results *at once extended the market for slave grown products, and gave a new impulse to the slave trade.*

The government and its advisers now found themselves in the mortifying position of having blundered miserably in their emancipation scheme, and of having landed themselves in a dilemma of singu-

\* We reckon the pound sterling, here and elsewhere, for convenience, at five dollars.

lar perplexity. Had England induced, or compelled Portugal, Spain, and Brazil,—the latter then no longer a colony but an independent nation,—to fulfill the conditions of the treaty declaring the slave trade piracy, and also to abolish slavery, she might have succeeded in her object. But she did not await the accomplishment of this work before she declared the freedom of her own slaves. This act resulted so favorably to the interests of those countries employing slave labor, by enlarging the markets for slave grown products, that the difficulty of inducing them to cease from it, was increased a hundred fold. Nor did the expedients to which she resorted prove successful in extricating her from the difficulties in which she was involved. A duty of near 39 shillings, afterwards raised to 41 shillings the cwt., or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pence the pound, levied on *slave grown sugar*—designed to prohibit its importation into England and secure the monopoly to the West India planter, thereby enabling him to pay higher wages for labor—while it failed to stimulate the activities of the freedmen sufficiently to increase the exports to their former amount—resulted only in taxing the English people, by the increase of prices consequent upon a diminution of the supply, in a single year, says Porter in his *Progress of Nations*, to the enormous amount of \$25,000,000 more than the inhabitants of other countries paid for the same quantity of sugar. This enormous tax accrued during 1840, from the protective duty, but was greatly above that of any other year during its continuance. The whole amount of the bounty to the planter, thus drawn from the pockets of the English people and placed in those of the West India negro laborers in excessive high wages, in the course of six or seven years, says McQueen, 1844, amounted to \$50,000,000.

The crisis had become so imminent, that energetic measures were immediately adopted to guard against the impending danger. England must either regain her advantages in tropical countries and tropical products, or she must be shorn of a part of her power and greatness. This truth was so fully impressed upon the minds of her intelligent statesmen, that one of the best informed on this subject, (McQueen,) declared, that

“If the foreign slave trade be not extinguished, and the cultivation of the tropical territories of other powers *opposed and checked by British tropical cultivation*, then the interests and the power of such states will rise into a preponderance over those of Great Britain; and the power and the influence of the latter will cease to be felt, feared and respected, amongst the civilized and powerful nations of the world.”

To relieve the English people from the onerous tax of the sugar duties, and at the same time, in obedience to the dictates of public opinion, to continue the exclusion of *slave grown products* from the English markets, sugar, the product of *free labor*, it was decided, should be admitted at a duty of 10 shillings the cwt. But it was soon discerned, that this policy would only create a circuitous commerce, by which the slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil

would be taken by Holland and Spain, for their own consumption, and that of Java and Manilla sent to England; thus creating a more extensive demand for slave grown products and consequently for slave labor, and giving to the *slave trade an additional impulse in an increased demand for slaves.*

The necessity for this continuous supply of slave laborers from Africa, for the planters of Cuba and Brazil, will be better understood, when the nature of West India and Brazilian slavery is made known. When England prohibited the slave trade in 1806, the number of slaves in her colonies was 800,000. In twenty-three years afterwards, or near the time she emancipated them, they numbered but 700,000. The *decrease* in this period was, therefore, 100,000; (Memoirs of Buxton).

The United States, in 1800, had a slave population of 893,000. In 1830 she numbered 2,009,000, being an increase of 1,116,000. Thus, in thirty years, the United States had an increase of *one million one hundred and sixteen thousand* on a population of 893,000; while the West Indies, under the English system of slavery, with a slave population nearly equal to that of the United States, in a period only six years less, *suffered an actual decrease of one hundred thousand.*

The destruction of human life in the slavery of Cuba and Brazil will, doubtless, be equal to what it was formerly in the West Indies, inasmuch as the same causes prevail—the great disparity of the sexes amongst those brought by slave traders, from Africa, for the planters. In the slave population of Cuba this disproportion, says McQueen, is 150,000 females to 275,000 males. It is estimated, that to keep up the slave population of Cuba and Brazil, will require, yearly, 130,000 people from Africa. It is, then, at once apparent, that Cuba and Brazil *are dependent*, as we have said, *upon the slave trade for keeping up the supply of their laborers*; and, that, if this annual importation of slaves should be stopped, then, their foreign exports would be proportionally lessened and their growing prosperity checked.

Under these circumstances, there could be no doubt, that if England could suppress the slave trade, she would at once cut off the supply of laborers furnished by that traffic to Cuba and Brazil, and *"check" their ability to rival her as producers of tropical commodities*; and, further, if she could *increase the number of laborers in the West Indies sufficiently*, she could restore those Islands to their former productiveness, and recover her former advantages. She, therefore, renewed her efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, with greatly increased activity. She also commenced the transfer of *free laborers* from the East Indies and from Africa to the West Indies. Every slave trading vessel captured, was made to yield up its burden of human beings to the West India planters, instead of to those of Cuba and Brazil; thus securing to the former all the advantages of laborers which had been designed for the latter. This arrangement was adopted in 1842, and the only

exception to it was in relation to Spanish slavers, which were to be given up, with their cargoes of slaves, to the authorities of Cuba. A premium was paid to her naval officers and seamen for all the slaves thus captured and transported to her West India Colonies. The expenditure for this object, in 1844, says McQueen, had amounted to \$4,700,000.

In this movement an intelligent colored man, Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, of Oxford, Ohio, has remarked, that England seems to have copied the example of the eagle, which disdains to soil his own plumage by a plunge in the water, but, as he must have the fish or die, makes no scruple of robbing the more daring fish-hawk of its prey and appropriating the captive fish to his own use, instead of restoring it to its native element.

All these efforts, however, failed in relieving England from her difficulties. The slave trade continued to increase, and the slave grown productions to multiply. The number of *free laborers* transported as *emigrants* from Africa and the East Indies, or captured from the slave traders, and landed in the Islands, were so few, comparatively, as to make no sensible difference in the amount of West India productions, and the scheme, though still continued, has failed of its main object—the *increase of British West India productions*. Some other means of replacing England in her former position, must, therefore, be devised.

But let us look a moment, before we proceed, at the West Indies, and learn more fully, the extent and nature of the influences which have gone forth upon the world as the result of West India Emancipation and British policy and philanthropy.

It seems to have been a great error of judgment in the British philanthropists, who urged West India Emancipation *upon the ground that free labor would be more productive than slave labor*,—that a freeman, under the stimulus of *wages*, would do twice the labor of a slave toiling beneath the *lash*: because this proposition is true only in reference to men of *intelligence and forethought*, but is untrue when applied to an ignorant and degraded class of men. The ox under the yoke, or the mule in the harness, when spurred on by the goad or the whip, will do more labor than when turned out to shift for themselves. So it will be with any barbarous people, or with the mass of such a slave population as the West Indies then included; where but little more care had been taken of the greater portion of them than if they had been mere brute beasts, and not moral agents. If any higher estimate had been put upon them, than as mere *machines* to be used in the production of tropical commodities, then it had been impossible for their numbers to have been reduced one hundred thousand in so short a period as before stated.

The first impulse of the heart of the more intelligent slaves, when they awoke to a consciousness of freedom, would prompt them to withdraw their wives, daughters, and younger children, from the sugar plantations, that the mothers might attend to their household duties, and the children be sent to school. This would deprive the



planters of much of the labor upon which they had depended. The men, too, would many of them prefer mechanical pursuits, or confine themselves to the cultivation of small portions of land, and decline laboring for their old masters, in whose presence they must still have felt a sense of inferiority. Many, from sheer indolence and recklessness of consequences, would only labor when necessity compelled them to seek a supply of their wants. The marriages taking place would withdraw still more of the laborers from the fields, and reduce the amount of the products of the Islands.

While, therefore, the ease, comfort, and welfare, of the colored man was secured, the interests of the planters were almost ruined by emancipation, and the influence and power of England put in jeopardy. Little did the 700,000 West India freedmen, who refused to labor regularly for the planters, think, when following their own inclinations, or lounging at their ease under the shade trees of these sunny Islands, that their want of industry, their reluctance to go back to the sugar mills, for the wages offered, was crippling the power of one of the greatest empires on earth, and robbing Africa of 400,000 of her children, annually, to supply to the world, from Cuba and Brazil, those very commodities which they were refusing to produce. Yet such was the fact, and such the mysterious links connecting man with his fellow, that the want of ambition in the West India freedman to earn more than a subsistence, depriving the planters of the necessary free labor to keep up the usual amount of exports, created a corresponding demand for slave grown products, and robbed Africa, in each two years thereafter, of a number of men *more than equal to the whole of the slaves emancipated in the British Islands.*

There would seem, then, to have been but little gain to the cause of humanity by West India Emancipation. *This view of its results, however, would be very erroneous.* On the contrary, there is exhibited here, in this result, another mysterious link in the chain of events connected with the redemption of Africa. The failure of the West India experiment, *has been a failure, only, of England's experiment adopted to restore herself to her former position and her former advantages,* and will not retard the onward progress of the cause of humanity. It has, on the contrary, no doubt greatly tended to precipitate upon the world the solution of a problem of the first importance in the great work of its recovery from barbarism. It must now be admitted *that mere personal liberty, even connected with the stimulus of high wages,* is insufficient to secure the industry of an ignorant population. It is Intelligence, alone, that can be acted upon by such motives. *Intelligence must precede voluntary Industry.* This proposition, we claim, has been fairly proved in the West India experiment. And, hereafter, that man or nation, may find it difficult to command respect or succeed in being esteemed wise, who will not, along with exertions to extend personal freedom to men, intimately blend with their efforts adequate means for intellectual and moral improvement. The West India colored



population, now released from the restraints of slavery, and accessible to the missionaries and teachers, sent to them from English Christians, are rising in intelligence and respectability; and, thus, West India emancipation has been productive of infinite advantage to them, though English capitalists may have been ruined by the act. But we will go further, and give it as our deliberate opinion, that as soon as intelligence and morality, growing out of the religious training now enjoyed, shall sufficiently prevail, the amount of products raised in the West Indies will greatly exceed that yielded under the system of slavery. Liberty and Religion can make its inhabitants as prosperous and happy as those of any other spot on earth. We do not say, however, that this can take place while they sustain the position of vassals of the British crown, and their importance in the scale of being continues to be estimated according to the extent to which they can add to its prosperity and its glory.

Had the West India colored men, under the stimulus of freedom and high wages, each performed twice the labor of a slave, as they, no doubt, might have done, and as was confidently anticipated by the enthusiastic friends of emancipation, more than twice the products of former years would have been exported from the Islands, and England, in that event, restored to her former position, and looking only to self aggrandizement, would have remained content, and continued to employ men as mere *machines*, as she heretofore had done, nor cared for their intellectual and moral elevation. But the failure of England in the West Indies, forced her to renewed efforts *for the acquisition of additional tropical possessions*, where, with better prospects of success, she could bring free labor into competition with slave labor.

Before tracing the movements of Great Britain, however, in her prosecution of this enterprise, let us again look a moment at her position. "Instead of supplying her own wants with tropical productions, and next nearly all Europe, as she formerly did, she had scarcely enough, says McQueen, 1844, of some of the most important articles, for her own consumption, while her colonies were mostly supplied with foreign slave produce." "In the mean time tropical productions had been increased from \$75,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually. The English capital invested in tropical productions in the East and West Indies, had been, by emancipation in the latter, reduced from \$750,000,000 to \$650,000,000; while, since 1808, on the part of foreign nations \$4,000,000,000 of fixed capital had been created in slaves and in cultivation wholly dependent upon the labor of slaves." "The odds, therefore, in agricultural and commercial capital and interest, and consequently in political power and influence, arrayed against the British tropical possessions, were very fearful—six to one."

This, then, was the position of England from 1840 to 1844, and these the forces marshalled against her, and which she must meet and combat. In all her movements hitherto, she had only added to the strength of her rivals. Her first step, the suppression of the slave

trade, had diminished her West India laborers 100,000 in twenty-three years, and reduced her means of production to that extent, giving all the benefits, arising from this and from the slave trade, to rival nations, who have but too well improved their advantages. But, besides her commercial sacrifices, she had expended \$100,000,000 to remunerate the planters for the slaves emancipated, and another \$100,000,000 for an armed repression of the slave trade. And yet, in all this enormous expenditure, resulting only in loss to England, Africa had received no advantage whatever, but, on the contrary, she had been robbed, since 1808, of at least, 3,500,000 slaves, (McQueen) who had been exported to Cuba and Brazil from her coast, making a total loss to Africa, by the rule of Buxton, of 11,666,000 human beings, or one million more than the whole white population of the United States in 1830, and more than three times the number of our present slave population.

Now, it was abundantly evident, that Great Britain was impelled by an overpowering necessity, by the instinct of *self-preservation*, to attempt the suppression of the slave trade. It was true, no doubt, that considerations of justice and humanity were among the motives which influenced her actions. Interest and duty were, therefore, combined to stimulate her to exertion. The measures to be adopted to secure success, were also becoming more apparent. Few other nations are guided by statesmen more quick to perceive the best course to adopt in an emergency, and none more readily abandon a scheme as soon as it proves impracticable. Great Britain stood pledged to her own citizens and to the world for the suppression of the slave trade. She stood equally pledged to demonstrate, that free labor can be made more productive than slave labor, even in the cultivation of tropical commodities. These pledges she could not deviate from nor revoke. Her interests as well as her honor were deeply involved in their fulfillment. But she could only demonstrate the greater productiveness of free labor over slave labor, by opposing the one to the other, in their practical operations on a scale coëxtensive with each other. She must produce tropical commodities so cheaply and so abundantly, by free labor, that she could undersell slave-grown products to such an extent, and glut the markets of the world with them so fully, as to render it unprofitable any longer to employ slaves in tropical cultivation. Such an enterprise, successfully carried out, would be a death blow to slavery and the slave trade. "But," says McQueen, "there remained no portion of the tropical world, where labor could be had on the spot, and whereon Great Britain could conveniently and safely plant her foot, in order to accomplish this desirable object—extensive tropical cultivation—but in tropical Africa. Every other part was occupied by independent nations, or by people that might and would soon become independent." Africa, therefore, was the field upon which Great Britain was *compelled* to enter and to make her second grand experiment. Her citizens were becoming convinced that it was unwise, if not unjust, to abstract laborers, even as free emigrants, from Africa, to be employed in other

parts of the world, *when their labor might be employed to much better advantage in Africa itself.* The government could, therefore, safely resort to some modification of her former policy. To confine her efforts for the recovery of her prosperity, *within the limits of her own tropical possessions, would be to abandon the vast regions of tropical Africa to other nations,* and thus permit them, by taking possession of it, to redouble the advantages over her which they already possessed. By employing the labor of Africa *within Africa,* she would cut off the supply of laborers derived by other nations from the slave trade, and would have an advantage over them, not only of the capital expended in the transportation of slaves *from Africa,* but she would have a gain of *seven-tenths* in the saving of human life now destroyed by the slave trade. British capital, instead of being *directly* and *indirectly* employed in the slave trade, as has been fully shown by the Hon. H. A. Wise, late American minister to Brazil, could be more honorably and safely invested in the cultivation of the richer fields of tropical Africa itself.

In her West India experiment, however, England had been taught the all-important lesson, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry.* Her Niger expedition of 1842, already noticed, was based upon this principle, and hence the extensive preparations connected with that movement, for the improvement of the intelligence and morals and industry of the natives. But the terrible mortality which destroyed that enterprise taught her another lesson, *that white men cannot fulfill the agency of Africa's intellectual elevation.* Since that period, England has been mostly occupied with the settlement of her difficulties with China, and her war with the Sikhs of India, and she has made but little progress in her African affairs; excepting by explorations into the interior and negotiations with the powers interested in the slave trade.

In the meantime the colony of Liberia had been pursuing its quiet and unostentatious course, and working out the problem of the colored man's capability for self-government. The active industry of that handful of men, had created a commerce of much importance, and supplied exports to the value of \$100,000 annually. Its declaration of independence was published to the world at a period the most auspicious. France, under those generous impulses so characteristic of her people, had herself trampled the last relics of despotism in the dust, and declared the Republic. Great as she herself is, she did not despise the little African republic, but, extending her view down the stream of time, discerned in it the germ of future empire and greatness, and therefore, she welcomed it into the family of nations. But lest, in its feebleness, it should receive a wound to its honor, or an injury to its commerce, from an attack of the dealers in human flesh infesting its borders, with distinguished liberality she offered the use of her war vessels for their destruction.

England, too, found herself in a position inclining her to favor the young republic; nay, not only *inclining* but imposing upon her *the necessity* of promoting its welfare. Impelled by her own interests

and wants, to secure extensive tropical cultivation, by free labor, *in Africa*, she had been surveying the whole vast field of that continent, the only country now remaining where her grand experiment could be commenced, and found much of it already occupied. France, fully alive to the importance of the commerce with Africa, had, within a short period, securely placed herself at the mouth of the Senegal and at Goree, extending her influence eastward and southeastward from both places. She had a settlement at Albreda, on the Gambia, a short distance above St. Mary's, and which commands that river. She had formed a settlement at the mouth of the Gaboon, and another near the chief mouth of the Niger. She had fixed herself at Massuah and Bure, on the west shore of the Red Sea, commanding the inlets into Abyssinia. She had endeavored to fix her flag at Brava and the mouth of the Jub, and had taken permanent possession of the important island of Johanna, situated in the center of the northern outlet of the Mozambique channel, by which she acquired its command. Her active agents were placed in southern Abyssinia, and employed in traversing the borders of the Great White Nile; while Algiers on the northern shores of Africa, must speedily be her own. Spain had planted herself, since the Niger expedition, in the island of Fernando Po, which commands all the outlets of the Niger and the rivers, from Cameroons to the equator. Portugal witnessing these movements, had taken measures to revive her once fine and still important colonies in tropical Africa. They included  $17^{\circ}$  of latitude on the east coast, from the tropic of Capricorn to Zanzibar, and nearly  $19^{\circ}$  on the west coast, from the  $20^{\text{th}}$  south latitude, northward to cape Lopez. The Imam of Muscat claimed the sovereignty on the east coast, from Zanzibar to Babelmandel, with the exception of the station of the French at Brava. From the Senegal northward to Algeria was in the possession of the independent Moorish princes. Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt were north of the tropic of Cancer, and independent tributaries of Turkey.

Here, then, all the eastern and northern coasts of Africa, and also the west coast from the Gambia northwards, was found to be in the actual possession of independent sovereignties, who, of course, would not yield the right to England. Southern Africa, below the tropic of Capricorn, already belonging to England, though only the same distance south of the equator that Cuba and Florida are north of it, is highly elevated above the sea-level, and not adapted to tropical productions. The claims of Portugal on the west coast, before noticed, extending from near the British south African line to Cape Lopez, excluded England from that district. From Cape Lopez to the mouth of the Niger, including the Gaboon and Fernando Po, as before stated, was under the control of the French and Spanish.

The only territory, therefore, not claimed by civilized countries, which could be made available to England for her great scheme of tropical cultivation, was that between the Niger and Liberia, embracing nearly fourteen degrees of longitude. But this territory includes



the powerful kingdom of Dahomey and that of Ashantee, whose right to the sovereignty of the soil could not, probably, be purchased, as was that of the former petty kings on the line of coast occupied by Liberia. Their territory, however, and that of Liberia, together with the whole of the vast basin of the Niger, under the hand of industry could be made to teem with those productions, the command of which were of such essential importance to England. But both Dahomey and Ashantee were engaged in the slave trade, and, like other parts of the continent, nine-tenths of the population held as slaves.—(Dr. GOHEEN.) This territory, therefore, could not be made available to England until she could succeed in securing the discontinuance of their connection with the slave trade and the abolition of their system of slavery; and not even then, as we have before proved, until *intelligence* should be introduced and diffused and *industry* begotten—a *work of generations*. But negotiations in relation to these objects had been commenced, says M'Queen, in 1844, under favorable auspices, and the king of Dahomey had agreed to abolish the slave trade, and had favorably received some Wesleyan missionaries. England has, since that period, successfully exerted her influence in other quarters for its suppression. In the British House of Commons, lately, Lord Palmerston announced, that the Bey of Tunis had abandoned within his dominions, not merely the slave trade but slavery itself—that the Sultan of Turkey had prohibited the slave trade among his subjects in the eastern seas—that the Imaum of Muscat had abolished it within certain latitudes—that the Arabian Chiefs in the Persian Gulf have also abandoned it—and that the Shah of Persia has prohibited it throughout his dominions. Thus, then, though the system of *an armed repression* of the slave trade has entirely failed, as before shown, yet the hope is springing up that it may soon be so circumscribed that its extermination can be more easily effected by encircling the remaining parts of the coast with Christian colonies.

But all these movements, important as they are to the cause of humanity, do not, in the least, check the slave trade with Cuba and Brazil, and the reason seems to be this: the slave trade is not a business by itself, and the slave traders are not a distinct class of men. The trade is so mixed up with the general business of the world, that it can derive facilities from the most innocent commercial transactions. In Brazil it is neither unlawful nor disreputable, and, it is said that nobody abstains from it, or from dealing with those concerned in it, from any fear of law, scruples of conscience, or regard of character; and that to trade with Brazil at all is to deal with a slave trader, or with some one who deals freely with slave traders. Hence, English capitalists in loaning money in Brazil, or English manufacturers in filling orders for goods from Brazil, are furnishing facilities for the slave traders to prosecute their infamous pursuits. The ship-builders of the United States, in selling fast-sailing merchant vessels to Brazilians, are furnishing to slave traders the means for transporting slaves from Africa. Thus British capital and industry and American skill, though, to the superficial observer, employed in a lawful way, are



indirectly furnishing the means for the prosecution of the slave trade, and affording facilities to those engaged directly in it, which, if withdrawn, would greatly embarrass their operations, and make it much less difficult to suppress it. Nor has the success of England, in securing the above named acts for the suppression of the slave trade, accomplished anything in her great work of *extensive tropical free labor cultivation in Africa*, as the means upon which she relies to recover her former position, and to break down the prosperity of her rivals.

In Sierra Leone, the commercial affairs being in the hands of white men, has prevented that advancement in industry, and in the knowledge of business among the colored population, which must exist before habits of active industry will be adopted by them. But in Liberia all the business is in the hands of colored men, and some of them have accumulated fortunes. Their success has encouraged others to follow their example, and industry is beginning to prevail. The great work of *tropical cultivation by free labor* has been successfully commenced by the *Freemen of Liberia*. Tropical products have been exported in small quantities, from the colony to England. Its coffee was found to be superior to that of all other countries, except Mocha, and about equal to it. The coffee tree, in Liberia, produces double the quantity, annually, which that of the West Indies bears. Its cotton, a native of its forests, is of a superior quality. Its capacity for producing sugar has been tested, and found equal to any other country. *Capital and labor* only are required to make Liberia more than rival Louisiana, *because frosts never touch its crops*, and laborers will not be thrown idle in the former, from that cause, as they are in the latter. Such is the nature of the soil and climate of Liberia, and such the easy cultivation of the products used for food, that the labor of a man, one third of his time, will supply him with necessary subsistence, leaving him the remaining two-thirds for mental improvement and to cultivate articles for export. An industrious man in Liberia must, therefore, become rich, and able to indulge his taste for the elegancies of life, leading him to the purchase of foreign commodities. Liberia, therefore, offered to England a field in which she could at once commence her experiment. All that is needed in Liberia to develop its resources, and to give it the ascendancy over all other portions of the tropical world, is *capital and labor*. The first can be abundantly supplied by England; the second by the United States and Africa. But African labor, beyond the limits of the colony where intelligence prevails, cannot be made productive until the education of the natives has been undertaken. This work, if extended very rapidly, must be performed, in a good degree, by emigrant teachers and missionaries from the United States. Hence the wisdom of the policy of England in now favoring our colony. We can supply teachers to aid in civilizing Africa. Great Britain cannot, and, disconnected from our colony, she cannot create intelligence and industry, and therefore, *cannot, at present, commence her scheme of extensive tropical cultivation without the aid of Liberia*.

Here, now, we claim, is the solution of the question of England's present liberality toward Liberia. Her own interests and purposes, demand an early demonstration of the practicability of employing free labor in opposition to slave labor, on an extensive scale, in tropical Africa. Her own African colonies have been, says McQueen, very injudiciously selected for extending an influence into Africa. But the position of Liberia is much more favorable, and will enable her, perhaps, from the head of the St. Pauls, to reach across the Kong mountains, and grasp the tributaries of the upper Niger, and, connecting the two rivers by rail-road, secure the commerce of the interior to the capital of the Republic, as the cities of New York and Philadelphia have secured that of the Mississippi valley.

England, therefore, at the moment that President Roberts visited London, found herself in a position compelling her to a change of policy toward our colony. Liberia at that moment, *was the only territory under heaven*, where could be commenced, *immediately*, her darling scheme of *extensive tropical cultivation by free labor*. And Liberia only, of all the territory that might be made available, contained the elements of success,—*intelligence and industry*. Here was England's position and here Liberia's. The old Empire, shaken by powerful rivals, and driven to extremity, was seeking a prop of sufficient strength to support her. The young Republic in the feebleness of infancy was needing a protector. That secret, unseen, hidden, invincible, and all-controlling Power, which had impelled England onward in her giant efforts to extirpate the slave trade and to abolish slavery, and which had inspired the hearts of American Christians to restore the colored man to Africa, and had watched over and protected the feeble colony until it could assume a national position; that Providence which had made England's crimes of former years, to react upon and embarrass her in all her relations, had now brought, face to face, the Prime Minister of England and the President of the Republic of Liberia. The first, was the representative of that once unscrupulous but powerful government, whose participation in the slave trade, to build up an extensive commerce and to aggrandize herself, had doomed the children of Africa to perpetual bondage; but who was now, *as a consequence of that very slave trade*, compelled to the most powerful exertions for its suppression, to save herself from commercial embarrassment and national decline: the second, was the Executive of a new Nation—*himself a descendant of one of the victims of the English slave traders*—seeking the admission of an AFRICAN REPUBLIC into the family of nations. The old Monarchy and the new Republic thus found themselves standing in the relation to each other of mutual dependence—the one, to secure a field for the immediate commencement of her grand experiment of rendering free labor more productive than slave labor, and of creating new markets for her manufactures,—the other, to obtain protection and to offer the products of the labor of the freemen of Liberia to the commerce of the world.

But it may be asked, why Great Britain should be willing to aid

Liberia in extending her influence over Africa, and thus introduce into the world a new nation who, as soon as its eighty millions of people are civilized and stimulated to industry, *can have the preponderance over all the world in tropical productions*, and consequently, have the means of acquiring power and influence in the world equal to that of other nations. The solution of this question is not difficult.

The policy of Great Britain, for a long period, caused her to grasp after foreign colonial possessions, and her glory and her strength was believed to be measured by the extent to which she could multiply her foreign dependencies. When her manufacturing interests began to multiply, she found a great stimulus to this branch of her national resources, in the markets furnished by her colonies. The increased commerce thus created, furnished another channel for the employment of British capital and enterprise. The multitude of sailors required for the merchant service, were readily transferred to her navy in times of war, and gave her immense power on the ocean. 'But the unfortunate attempt of England,' says McCulloch, in his statistical account of the British Empire, to compel the American colonists 'to contribute toward the revenue of the empire, terminating so disastrously, has led her ever since to renounce all attempts to tax her colonies for any purpose, except that of their own internal government and police.' Colonies, therefore, have since been cherished chiefly on account of the outlets they afford to her surplus population; the field they offer to private adventurers for the acquisition of fortunes, to be afterwards transferred to the mother country; the increase they add to her commerce; the markets which they furnish for her manufactures; and the agricultural or mineral products which they supply, in return, for consumption and use in England.

An opinion, however, is beginning to possess the public mind in England, that the possession of colonies is not of the especial importance to her that they were once considered. The expenditure for their government and defense often outweighs the political and commercial advantages realized from their possession. It is now believed, that her commercial and manufacturing interests can be as well if not better promoted, by a liberal commerce with independent states, than with colonies under her own control. This conviction has been forced upon the English, chiefly by the results which have followed the Independence of the United States. The British government now derives ten times more advantage, says McCULLOCH, from intercourse with the United States, than when she had a Governor in every state, or than she has derived from all her other colonies put together. In a more comprehensive view of British relations, by PORTER, in his *Progress of Nations*, we find it stated, that, in 1837, the exports of Great Britain to the United States amounted to more than half the sum of her shipments to the whole of Europe, while of her entire foreign exports, amounting to \$235,000,000, only one-third was consumed by her colonies.

But as other governments have arisen and attained stability, and encouragement has been afforded by them to home industry, the

instinct of *self preservation* has led to the adoption of such restrictive duties as would protect their people, in the infancy of their manufacturing efforts, against the superiority in machinery, capital and skill of older nations. In this way England has been so much restricted, from time to time, in her commercial operations, that, in 1844, (Westminster Review) her exports to the European states, notwithstanding their vast increase of population, were considerably less than they had been forty years ago.

But England has been embarrassed, not only by the restrictive duties of other governments, but many of them are beginning to rival her, in the sale of *manufactures*, in those countries whose markets are still open to foreign competition. This rivalry in manufactures is one of more serious import to Great Britain than even the rivalry which opposes her in tropical productions. *The latter is to her as the arteries, the former the heart.* The truth of this assertion will be seen in the following statements.

The great leading interest of England,—her principal dependence for the maintainance of her power and influence,—is her manufactures. Out of this interest grows her immense commerce, and from her commerce arises her ability to sustain her vast navy, giving to her such a controlling influence in the affairs of the world. ‘Wealth, civilization, and knowledge, add rapidly and indefinitely to the powers of manufacturing and commercial industry.’ All these Great Britain possesses in an eminent degree. ‘It is asserted that the manufactures of England could, in a short time, be made to quadruple their produce—that so vast is the power which the steam engine has added to the means of production in commercial industry, that it is susceptible of almost indefinite and immediate extension—that Manchester and Glasgow could, in a few years, prepare themselves for furnishing muslin and cotton goods to the whole world—that with England the great difficulty always felt is, not to get hands to keep pace with the demand of the consumers, *but to get a demand to keep pace with the hands employed in the production.*’

With such resources and capabilities, and with such interests involved in their development and extension—interests involving the very existence of the empire—England is not to be easily defeated in her purposes. When restricted or excluded from one market, she speedily seeks or creates another. The intelligence, the enterprise, and the energies, of her subjects, are called forth by government, and made subservient to the promotion of her interests and the extension of her commerce and her power. The desert or savage Islands of the sea; the bulwarks of India, or the walls of China; the frozen regions of the north, or the tropical suns of the south, present few obstacles to her enterprise. Nor need we stop to prove, in detail, that the almost irresistible energies of Great Britain, thus put forth, and embracing in their range all the earth, *find their chief motive power in her desire to extend the sale of her manufactures* Crush her manufactures, and the throne will soon totter to its fall But what gives a tenfold interest and importance to her enterprises



is, that wherever she goes, wherever her standard is planted, a *Christian Civilization*, though forming no part of her *design*, almost invariably follows her conquest of, or treaty with, a pagan nation or a savage tribe. The greatness of England, and her consequent necessities, are thus compelling her to the fulfillment of a mission of vast moment to the world; and in its execution she seems likely to be driven from point to point until she completes the earth's circuit. Though she "meaneth not so," yet she may emphatically be called *the great agent for the extension of civilization*. She is now, it seems, compelled to expend her energies upon Africa, so as to secure to herself the advantages arising from its civilization. Two hundred thousand of her own subjects are now annually emigrating to other countries. This is to England an annual loss of two hundred thousand laborers, whom she cannot profitably employ at home. But were the hordes of barbarians in tropical Africa civilized, and engaged in developing its immense resources, the demand created in the supply of their wants would furnish labor for all unemployed English subjects, and add immensely to the prosperity of Great Britain.

It will now be seen that England is not only interested in encouraging the cultivation of tropical productions by Liberia, as a means of destroying *the slave trade and slavery, and of crippling the energies of her rivals*, but that she is also most deeply interested in securing the markets which Liberia will open up in Africa for *English manufactures*. Tropical Africa can never afford an outlet for European emigration, and can, therefore, be of no importance to England for that purpose. Its commercial advantages can be as well secured in the hands of independent states, as if England had possession of it as colonies. Great Britain, therefore, can, consistently with her policy and her interests, employ her influence and her power in promoting the welfare of Liberia. Nay, more, it will be seen, when all the facts stated are considered, that she is compelled, by her own necessities, to use the most energetic measures for the speedy extension of the influence and the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia, as the point where she can, at the earliest period, commence her important experiment. Other points hereafter, may, and no doubt will be speedily made subservient to her purpose, but Liberia is her only present reliance for the commencement of her great work. Civilization is here already introduced and begins to radiate into the interior, and only needs the necessary aid and time to extend its blessings throughout Africa.

It is true, that England will have rivals, in the sale of her manufactures, in Liberia. She cares but little for that, however, because her facilities for manufacturing are, at present, and must be for years to come, so much superior to that of all other countries, that she can successfully rival them, even in their own markets, when not embarrassed by tariffs. She has taken good care to make the first treaty of commerce and amity with Liberia, and thus stands in the foreground, as the friend of the young Republic.



Now, then, we repeat, without the fear of successful contradiction, that Great Britain finds herself in a position, at this moment, so disadvantageous, both in her relations to tropical cultivation and in the sale of her manufactures, that one principal means of extrication is in the success of Liberia, and that she is, therefore, vitally interested in having the young Republic extend its influence, with all possible rapidity, over the continent of Africa; so as, at the earliest practicable day, to have her eighty millions of naked or half-clothed inhabitants subjected to civilization, stimulated to industry, clothed in British fabrics, and, in return, producing abundantly those tropical products now become absolutely necessary, for the manufactures, the luxuries, and the necessities of life, amongst the civilized nations of the temperate zones. And with such interests involved in the success of Liberia, and with such power and influence enlisted in her support, humanly speaking, how can our Colonization scheme fail?

But we must hasten to a conclusion of this protracted discussion, and leave many points of additional interest untouched. Indeed nothing but the great importance of the bearings of the questions which have been investigated, can justify the occupation of so much time. The cause of humanity, however, demands that attention shall be given to these topics. Africa has long groaned hopelessly to be delivered from the deluge of woes which has for ages rolled over her. The dawn of her redemption is now appearing. The light of civilization and Christianity has broken forth upon her shores and begins to dispel the gloom of centuries. The slave traders, like so many spirits of darkness, are compelled to limit their hellish labors to districts yet unilluminated by that light. Nothing seems to be wanting to the accomplishment of Africa's redemption but a sufficient increase of the agencies which have already been productive of such rich fruits in Liberia. These agencies are being rapidly rallied into action. The Providence of God is operating upon the nations, most directly concerned in the question of Africa's future destiny, so as to make it their interest to favor the civilization of the inhabitants of that continent. Great Britain, as already shown, is enlisted by considerations, *commercial and manufacturing*, which she never overlooks, to aid in this great work of philanthropy. She can supply unlimited sums of money to stimulate enterprise and industry, and to promote civilization in Africa, and she *will* do it as fast as it can be profitably employed.

The people of France, having achieved their own liberties, soon pronounced the freedom of the slaves in their islands. France did not wait to calculate the political and commercial considerations involved in emancipation, before she obeyed the dictates of humanity. Herself free, she desired the freedom of the world. Having possession of many important points on the coast of Africa, she will crush the slave trade wherever she has control, and thus greatly aid in its suppression and in the promotion of African civilization. But as she has not within herself, the command of the agencies necessary to civilize the districts which she owns, she may find herself compelled to call upon the colored people of the United States to commence and carry on the work, and thus promote our colonization enterprise. And as France has already proved herself capable of acts of the greatest magnanimity, we must ask of her one favor, though it may seem, in us, an act of presumption. But as an American Republican, we can appeal to French Republicans. It is of the utmost importance to the Republic of Liberia, that it should have guaranteed to it, by other nations, the right to purchase and annex the whole line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Lopez, so that no other power may be allowed to interfere with the extension of its jurisdiction over that region. The Gaboon, now in the possession of France, lies at the southeastern limits of this region, and is one of the most valuable points in Africa. We ask of France, therefore, that she shall offer the Gaboon country, as a free gift, to the free colored people of the United States, upon which to form a new state in connexion with Liberia. And, from the circumstances under which her title to this

territory was acquired, during *the Monarchy*, it is believed that *the Republic*, when the subject is presented for its consideration, will yield it for that purpose.

The United States is also deeply interested in the success of Liberia, and is being involved in difficulties and perplexities propelling her onward to a point where she, too, must exert herself in behalf of the young Republic. Commercial and manufacturing interests will influence her, as they have already influenced Great Britain. But in addition to these, other considerations of far deeper import will soon press themselves upon our attention. The rapid increase of our slave population is beginning to alarm the stoutest advocates of the perpetuation of slavery. With their uniform ratio of increase continued, which, it will be remembered, is *three per cent. per annum*, in 50 years, from 1850, the slave population of the United States, will number 12,000,000, with an annual increase of 360,000. In 100 years hence, they will have increased to 44,500,000, with an annual increase of 1,300,000. And in 150 years their numbers will be 165,000,000, and the yearly increase 5,000,000.

Now, it is utterly impossible that this number of slaves can be held in bondage, or be profitably employed, by the southern states of our union, for half the period included in our calculation. But how emancipation is to be ultimately effected, we cannot foretell. This we know, that *it must be done*. The South is becoming aware of the difficulties of *the future of slavery*, and are beginning to look at its appalling consequences. Many states have already legislated to prevent the sale and transfer of the slaves of the more northern states into their bounds, and it would not be unexpected, if, in a few years, the slave holders of the more northern slave states, should be unable to find a market for their surplus slaves. And whenever this event occurs, the masters will soon be over-supplied with laborers *which they cannot employ profitably*, and emancipation must take place. And when ever this work commences, the work of Colonization to Africa will be greatly increased. Liberia, therefore, is to the southern states, as well as to those of the north, and to the nations of Europe, a point of very great interest. Not one of them, scarcely, can carry out their present policy without promoting the interests of our colony. In these facts we find an additional argument for the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

And further, if the scheme of tropical cultivation in Africa, by free labor, can be successfully carried out, at an early day, and of which we entertain but little doubt, the work of emancipation in this country may be forced to a consummation much more rapidly than many suppose. The United States, it must be borne in mind, have not one acre of tropical lands. *Our crops of cotton and sugar, are both liable to blight, by frosts, before they are fully matured and secured*. But it is not so in Africa. More than three fourths of the lands of that vast continent are within the tropics, and secure from the action of frosts. The employment of capital, in tropical cultivation in Africa, would long since have been extended to millions upon millions of dollars, but for the error committed in attempting it by *white men* and amongst *an uncivilized people*. This error is now detected and will not be repeated. The American Colonization Society has, by its efforts, dispelled the doubts and difficulties overhanging the question of African Civilization. Capital, in a few years, can be employed more profitably in Liberia than in the United States. Capital and labor will soon both find their way to Africa, and perhaps in modes not now anticipated. It is no uncommon occurrence now, for a slave holder, in this country, *to let his slave out on parole*, to earn a fixed price, upon the payment of which to the master, the slave is a freeman. It is very rare, in such cases, that a breach of faith occurs. Now, it may not be long, if the southern market should be closed against the sale of northern slaves, before this system of self-emancipation may be carried out upon a grand scale, *by masters bargaining with their slaves to emigrate to Liberia, there to earn the price of their freedom*. Such an arrangement would add to the amount of free labor products which must come into competition with those of the slave labor of our southern states. In this way Kentucky and Virginia could retaliate, with fearful effect, upon South Carolina and Louisiana.

But, as we hasten to a conclusion, we can only throw out suggestions without waiting to dwell upon them. We are fully aware, that the idea that tropical cultivation in Africa, can seriously affect the value of slave labor in the United States, for centuries to come, will be considered visionary. But we must ask all such doubters to recollect, that commercial revolutions occur almost as suddenly, in this age, as

political ones. The world has learned how to achieve great things in a short time. We western men have witnessed such wonders pass before our eyes, that we believe capital and labor, skill and enterprise, can accomplish any thing within the range of human power, and that what formerly required centuries for its consummation, can now be executed in months or years. Born in Ohio, when it was yet comparatively a wilderness, I, myself, have seen it rise to what it now is, and have also seen State after State called rapidly into existence, in the wilderness of the west, in less than half a century. And yet the sources of this prosperity and this progress are unexhausted and inexhaustible. No limits can be set to this progress but the impassable barriers of the great Pacific.

Give to Liberia intelligent and industrious *emigrants*, and she, too, will advance in prosperity and in greatness. The materials of such an emigration exist in the United States, and our colored men, generally, are only awaiting the evidences of the truth of what is said of Liberia. When convinced *that it is not a trap to enslave them again*, as they have been told, they will move with the heart of one man, as the Israelites of old removed from Egypt to Canaan. The sympathies of our colored men are with England and France. These nations possess their confidence more fully than Americans. England and France are both interested in blessing Africa with civilization. A formal invitation from these two governments, addressed to our free colored people, and asking them to emigrate to Liberia, under their protection and patronage, would enlist tens of thousands to remove at once to the young Republic. These emigrants, being settled at suitable points along the coast, would greatly aid in checking the slave trade, and thus, its risks being much increased, the British capital employed at present in that traffic, *would be withdrawn from Brazil and transferred to Liberia*. A large concentration of capital and labor in Africa, which are both practicable, would soon be felt, in the markets of the world, *by the increased supply of free labor tropical products brought into competition with those of slave labor*. When this event shall occur, as occur it will, a reduction of the value of slave labor must follow; and this together with the rapidly increasing bulk of the now unwieldy mass of our slave population, must greatly hasten the period of final emancipation.

Now, if the possession of the sovereignty of the soil of tropical Africa, and the control of its products, be of such vast political and commercial importance to such governments as France and England, as their policy towards Africa, heretofore, so fully indicates; we would respectfully enquire of our colored people, whether their possession and control are not of equal importance and value to African men themselves? And, if the monopoly of tropical products once secured to Englishmen an ascendancy among nations; will not the same advantages be of equal importance to African men, and afford to them the means of rising into national greatness and national glory? And, further, if Africa is of such importance to European nations, that they will expend millions of dollars to secure to themselves the advantages of its products and its commerce; what will posterity, what will the world say, of those of our African population, *who refuse to receive such a rich inheritance, though offered to their acceptance as a free gift?* And, again, if the destruction of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, be matters of such vast moral importance as to call for the united efforts of Christian men, throughout the world, to destroy them; and if these greatest of all modern moral enterprises, inferior only to our purely missionary efforts, cannot be accomplished, but by our Christian colored men forming themselves into a rampart around the African coast; and if colored men can, by engaging in this great moral and religious movement, better their own condition and secure to themselves and their children, and ultimately to the millions of Africa, all the blessings of social, civil, and religious liberty; why should we not urge them to a fair and candid consideration of the question of returning to Africa as civilized and christianized men, to take peaceful possession of that ancient inheritance from which their uncivilized and pagan forefathers were forcibly torn?

But we shall not further weary your patience. We had designed presenting an argument for the success of the Republic of Liberia, based upon the innate moral principle existing within her, and growing out of the religious freedom secured to her citizens, and the ample means of religious instruction provided for her people. But we forbear.

## PART SECOND.

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THE close of the last century exhibited the social and moral condition of the world in such an aspect as to prove the excellency of Christianity over all other religious systems. Paganism had long since wrought out its legitimate results, and demonstrated its impotency to produce a high degree of human happiness. Mohammedanism, a shade better in its principles, had progressed but little beyond Paganism in promoting the welfare of its votaries. Both of these systems, constructed on principles consonant with fallen human nature, were, of necessity, becoming effete, and stood before the world as gigantic edifices, whose foundations were giving way, and the whole structures tumbling into ruins.

Christianity, embracing principles antagonistic to all impurity and every form of injustice, and demanding of men implicit obedience to God, was no welcome visitor upon earth, but had to endure, from its earliest introduction, the most bitter enmity and the most sanguinary opposition. At the end of 330 years from Christ, in addition to the hostility of the Jews, it had passed through ten successive persecutions by the Roman Emperors, which, failing to suppress it, only served to prove that the religion of the Saviour of the world was *indestructible*.

When, therefore, despots discovered their inability to annihilate the new religion, combinations were formed to adopt it in the room of preëxisting systems, or rather, perhaps, to engraft it upon them, and mould it to suit their purposes. But notwithstanding that Christianity was thus corrupted and perverted into an engine of political and ecclesiastical despotism, it still retained much of its innate vitality, and greatly advanced the social and moral welfare of those subjected to its influence; thus proving its superiority over the false religious systems which had so long prevailed.

It being an essential element of the religion revealed by Christ to generate *independence of thought*, its believers were often found



holding opinions at variance with those established by law. These tendencies, it was feared, would make the unrestrained toleration of Christianity dangerous to Despotism, because freedom of thought and of speech, allowed to the people, would weaken confidence in the infallibility of the judgment of kings, and thus peril the stability of thrones. The art of printing being undiscovered, the *living teacher*, for a long period, was the chief agency for the propagation of the new faith. To silence his voice, when not in unison with despotic will, it was conceived, would limit independence of thought, and the desired uniformity of opinion and implicit obedience to rulers be secured. Hence arose efforts, extending through many centuries, and leading to the shedding of torrents of blood, to force upon the world a unity of faith. But the employment of the rack and the dungeon, the gibbet and the stake, only tended more fully to evolve another inherent principle of the doctrines taught by the Son of God—the *natural equality of mankind, and the individual responsibility of man to God, demanding for the human race equal rights and liberty of conscience.*

A doctrine so inconsistent with preconceived opinions, and fraught, it was perceived, with such dangers to civil and ecclesiastical despotisms, could not but lead to the most vigorous exertions for its suppression. Success so far attended their efforts, that the light of the Gospel became dimmed and ages of darkness ensued, during which despotism reposed in safety amid the moral night it had produced, until the forgotten Bible, chained within walls of massive stone, as if to hide it from the people, was discovered by the master-spirit of his age, and its divine light made to reillumine the world.

The occurrence of this event with the nearly simultaneous discovery of the art of printing, which led to a rapid and indefinite multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, now imposed upon despots the double task, of exterminating the living teacher, and of preventing the circulation of the printed Bible. Persecution again followed persecution, until, under the guidance of a kind Providence, a few of the advocates of civil and religious liberty, fleeing for their lives from Europe, Bible in hand, found a refuge in the new world. Here the legitimate fruits of Christianity, when untrammelled by the devices of men, were soon developed, and the American Republic arose, as a beacon to the world, teaching what a *Free Christianity* can accomplish for mankind.

In the mean time the principles of religious liberty had gained some favor in a few of the nations of Europe, and produced their appropriate results, though in a more limited degree than in the United States, because religion was left less free. And thus there was a progressive movement on both sides of the Atlantic, leading to a higher civilization and a greater sum of human happiness than the older systems had ever produced, or than has yet been attained where they still prevail.

Near the close of the last century, therefore, the contrast could be clearly drawn between Paganism, Mohammedanism, a Christianity



excluding the Bible from the people and modeled to fetter the freedom of thought and of speech, and a free Christianity taking the Bible alone as its basis, and, without the intervention of any human agent, placing the soul of man directly in communion with God. The effects of these various systems, in advancing or retarding human happiness, and in promoting or checking civilization, had become so manifest, that the Christian philanthropist, acting under the impulses of the law of love, resolved upon giving to the world a *Free Christianity*.

It is unnecessary, before an intelligent audience, to enumerate the obstacles which impede the progress of the agents employed to bestow a Free Christianity upon the world, with the view of securing to mankind a higher civilization and increased enjoyment in this life, as well as to impart to the hearts of men the hope of eternal happiness in the world to come. It is only necessary to our present purpose to say, that, in all these efforts there has been no field selected which was so dark and unpromising, and none that so long baffled all exertions, and so utterly failed of success, as that of Africa previous to the colonization of its coast by civilized and Christian colored men. The facts in relation to this subject were fully presented in our lecture, one year ago, in this hall. It is there shown that two hundred and forty years of effort by the Catholics, and one hundred and forty by Protestant missionaries, including the period of the operations of our Liberia Colony, had proved, conclusively, that the redemption of Africa from barbarism cannot be accomplished by *white men*, but that *colored men* must be employed in that vast work of benevolence. It was also proved, that the slave trade, after the expenditure, by England, of more than one hundred millions of dollars for its suppression, instead of being diminished in extent, has been steadily and rapidly increasing; and that the conviction is forced upon the public mind, that this greatest of crimes against humanity can only be suppressed by surrounding the coast with colonies of intelligent colored men, who must be protected and sustained by Christian governments until the civilization of the native population can be effected.

The important truth being ascertained, that the agents in the civilization of Africa must be men of African blood, the great question which presses itself upon the consideration of the philanthropist and the Christian, is this: Where can we obtain colored men in sufficient numbers, who are properly educated and enlightened, and who are themselves the subjects of redeeming grace, to act as agents in bestowing a Christian civilization upon Africa?

To answer this question, is a prominent object of the present lecture. But, to obtain a just conception of the magnitude of the work that lies before us, it becomes necessary to determine the extent and character of the social and moral evils existing in Africa; and this is the more necessary, because of the prevalence of the opinion, that the degradation of Africa is chiefly due to the slave trade. Our investigations, we believe, will fully sustain the truth of the assertion, that even if it were possible to break up the slave trade by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity

and little good accomplished for Africa; and that if the benevolent designs toward the African race, which so generally prevail among good men, be executed, there must be a union of effort of all the friends of this oppressed people, in supporting and extending the work of colonization in Africa; and further, that the United States is placed in such a peculiar position, as clearly to indicate that we alone, of all the nations in the world, are able to give to Africa that form of Christianity and of civil government which will secure to her the highest degree of civilization and the greatest amount of prosperity. The materials collected have been arranged under the following heads.

- I. The social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade.
- II. The modifications produced by the slave trade upon the social and moral condition of Africa.
- III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

I. The earlier travelers in Africa, meeting with many acts of kindness, formed favorable opinions of the natives, and the impression has been created, that the greater part of the evils oppressing that country have had their origin in the slave trade, and are not a necessary consequence of her own social and moral condition. A better acquaintance with the state of the interior has tended to correct the first impressions. The iron despotism of their kings, the absoluteness of their domestic slavery, the objects of their idolatrous worship, the modes of performing their religious rites, the cruel superstitions existing everywhere, their degrading customs, their human sacrifices, their cannibalism, it was discovered, must have dated their origin far back beyond the period of the commencement of the slave trade, and produced the most debasing effects upon the inhabitants. The slave trade, it was evident, had not originated the *greater evils* under which Africa groaned, *but was itself one of the legitimate fruits of the social and moral degradation previously existing and still perpetuated on that continent.* A brief statement of facts will prove the accuracy of the view here presented.

When England, in 1808, prohibited the slave trade, it was anticipated that, as this traffic diminished, and a legitimate commerce increased, the civilization of the African people would necessarily be accomplished. While she had the monopoly of the slave trade, she had erected many forts on the coast of Africa, and on declaring it illegal and commencing her operations for its suppression, they were immediately transformed into trading posts for opening up a legal commerce with the natives. This change of policy, requiring many agents to reside on the coast and to visit the interior, soon made the world better acquainted with Africa.

As the power of Great Britain was considered almost omnipotent, it was not doubted at first, but that the slave trade would be annihilated through her influence and exertions, and the consequent civilization of Africa immediately follow. But *the elements of*

*civilization* were not then so well understood as at present. It was believed that to extend *commerce* was to extend civilization. The commerce conducted between the enlightened nations of Europe, it was known, had greatly promoted their civilization. It was soon found, however, that the causes of African degradation lay deeper than had been conceived. The difference between the intellectual and moral capacities of the civilized and uncivilized man was found to be almost infinite. The horrible superstitions by which the minds of the people of Africa had been darkened and bewildered must first be eradicated before civilization could progress. Commerce, unaided, it was soon demonstrated, could not accomplish this work. An active commerce at Cape Messurado, conducted for three hundred and fifty years, had failed to advance the natives a single step toward civilization. Similar results had followed elsewhere. Barbarous tribes, then as now, it was discovered, were incapable of comprehending moral truth while in the savage state; and could only be brought under its influence by a careful course of moral teaching. But the appetites and passions of their natures being the same as with other men, *commerce unavoidably imparted to them the vices of civilization, and introduced among them the elements of physical destruction, instead of planting the seeds of moral renovation.* The result of missionary efforts elsewhere, had led to the discovery that the light of the gospel must be let into the soul before the darkness of heathenism, in which it was shrouded, could be dissipated, and the intellectual and moral elevation of the people be promoted. Christianity, the only parent of a pure morality, it had been perceived, was the *primary element* in raising men from barbarism, and that civilization, industry, and commerce were necessary fruits of the gospel wherever planted. These facts being observed, though as yet but dimly and by few, led to efforts for the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the missionaries thus employed furnished to the world additional light upon the subject of its social and moral condition. The establishment of colonies upon the coast has also afforded further opportunities of investigation and supplied fuller information in relation to the terrible moral gloom overshadowing Africa.

It is, then, from the investigations of British agents, travelers, missionaries and colonists, that we derive our facts in relation to the social and moral condition of Africa.

We shall begin with their *human sacrifices*. According to their ideas, the future world will be a counterpart of this; will present the same objects to the senses, the same enjoyments, and the same distinction of ranks in society. Upon this belief are founded proceedings not only absurd, but of the most violent and atrocious description. A profusion of wealth is buried in the grave of the deceased, who is supposed to carry it into the other world: and human victims are sacrificed, often in whole hecatombs, under the delusion that they will attend as his guards and ministers in the future mansion. This savage superstition seems to have prevailed to a peculiar extent in those

great interior monarchies, which, in other respects, are more civilized than the rest of Western Africa.

The Ashantees have two annual customs, as they are called, says Mr. Bowditch, a British agent, of 1819, in which the King, and chief men, seek to propitiate the departed spirits of their ancestors, by the sacrifice of a crowd of human victims. Foreign slaves and criminals are selected in preference, but as each seeks to multiply the number, unprotected persons cannot walk abroad without the hazard of being seized and immolated. At the death of any of the royal family, victims must bleed in thousands; and the same is the case when the king seeks from the powers above, favorable omens respecting any great projected undertaking. On the death of the king, a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated, to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the crowd. Few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence. The king's household slaves are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. As the king is allowed three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, and as the immolation of the wife on the death of the husband is customary in Africa, it is probable that many of the slaughtered women are the wives of the king, despatched to attend their deceased lord in another world. The king of Ashantee, otherwise a very amiable and benevolent sovereign, on the death of his mother, says Mr. Bowditch, devoted three thousand victims to water her grave, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

That this is no fabled account of the cruel superstitions of Ashantee, is evident from very recent testimony. As late as 1844, intelligence from Liberia, published in the *African Repository*, states that at the death of the late king, one thousand human victims were sacrificed.

The kingdom of Dahomey is governed upon the same system as Ashantee, and with all its deformities—which it carries to a still more violent excess. The bloody customs take place on a still greater scale; and the bodies of the victims, says Mr. B., instead of being buried, are hung upon the walls, and allowed to putrify. Human skulls make the favorite ornament of the palaces and temples, and the king has his sleeping apartment paved with them.

This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Rev. J. L. Wilson, missionary in Western Africa, in 1839, who writes, that “human sacrifices are still offered in great numbers, not only in Ashantee, but in all the petty principalities of the surrounding country. The story that the king of Dahomey has his yard paved with human skulls is no fable. There are Europeans on the coast who have seen it, and can bear witness to the truth of the statement.”

Governor Abson, of Cape Coast Castle, visited the king of Dahomey



at a time when six slave ships were at Whydah, anxious to make purchases, and when, owing to the scarcity of slaves, the prices had risen to nearly thirty pounds. But such was the strength of superstition over avarice, that the king refused to sell his prisoners to the slave traders, preferring to put them to death for their skulls, in the contemplation of which the people seemed to take a horrible delight. When the governor inquired of the king, if his going to war was not to obtain captives to sell to the slave traders, he replied, "I have killed many thousands without thinking of the slave market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors, to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the customs."

The king of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened, that after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched, in like manner, with a postscript to his former message. Gov. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow selected for the honor of bearing his majesty's message, aware of what was to happen, declared he was unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, "I'll show you the way," and with one blow severed his head from his body—highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered a great honor.

Such seems to have been the inefficiency of British arrangements on the coast, at the period when Mr. Bowditch visited Africa; and such the want of moral influence exerted by the residents over the natives, that Sir James Yeo informed the committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their outposts were such, that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls. Two victims, says Mr. B., had been sacrificed, with the most refined barbarity, in *broad day*, close to the fort of Accra.

Human sacrifices, on a more limited scale, seem to be of common occurrence. The Rev. Mr. Schon, of the English Church Missionary Society, who accompanied the Niger Expedition in 1843, says that human sacrifices are offered by the Ibo people, residing one hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Niger. The usual modes of destroying life are to fasten the victims to the branches of trees close to the river and leave them to famish, or to tie their legs together and drag them from place to place until they expire, when the bodies are cast into the river to be devoured by alligators. In a tour of exploration along the coast, in 1839, the Rev. J. L. Wilson says, "We were informed that only a few days previous to our arrival, a neighboring chief had, in consequence of an eclipse of the sun, which



was regarded as ominous of approaching calamity, buried several of his subjects alive; and it was not known how many more would be subjected to the same fate."

On the gold coast, the shark is worshipped by the inhabitants. Every year, says Dr. Porter, the inhabitants of Bonney doom a guiltless child to expiate, with its life, the follies and crimes of its destroyers. The poor babe is named for this bloody rite at its birth, from which time it is called their Jewjew, and allowed every indulgence that its fancy can wish for, until it arrives at nine or ten years of age, when its sanguinary doom must be fulfilled. Its tears and lamentations avail not; its parents have placed their feelings of nature on the altar of a mistaken devotion; it is therefore left alone to plead with those that hope to benefit by its destruction. The sharks collect as if in expectation of the dainty meal being prepared for them. The spot chosen is a point of sand, into which a stake is driven at low water mark. The mother sees her innocent offspring bound to this, and as the tide advances, left alone. Various noises are made to drown the cries of the terrified child. Its little hands are seen imploring, and its lips calling for her aid; the water soon reaches the stake, and the greedy monsters are seen by the tender victim quickly approaching with the deepening tide. The shouting mob stand watching the stake until the advancing tide has emboldened the sharks to approach their prey—then their dreadful revelry begins. No tear is shed for the poor sufferer, but the day is concluded with rejoicing and festivities.

But we will only trespass upon your patience so far as to present one more case under this part of our investigations. The *Liberia Luminary*, of 1848, gives an account of the sacrifice of a human being, a short time previous, under circumstances which prove that there is no abatement of the power of superstition over men's minds in Africa, where the light of the gospel has not been reflected.

A famous Goulah chief, anxious for success in a military campaign upon which he was setting out against the Condoes, applied to a Mahomedan priest to know what he should do to insure success. The priest inquired of him whether he was *able* to make the necessary sacrifice, to which he replied that he could make any sacrifice that could be named. The nefarious imposter then told him he must sacrifice his son! and, taking his dead body upon his shoulders, his feet swung around his neck, and his head hung behind him, in this manner advance before his troops to the contest, and victory would be certain!! The directions were complied with. Calling his son into a house, he caught him, deliberately tied him, and then, with his own parental hand, he cut his throat! Having offered this sacrifice, he and his troops prepared to advance toward the jurisdiction of their enemies; then was this inhuman father seen with his dead son on his back, in the manner directed, without any display of parental affection or of emotion, save that aroused in his barbarous breast by the confident expectation of victory. Being successful in three subsequent engagements, this horrible sacrifice will, no doubt, be hereafter considered as the sure precursor of victory.

Such was African superstition in 1848, and such will it continue to be until Christianity dispels the gloom which overcasts the native mind.

We turn now to African *Idolatry*. The native Africans, generally, have very obscure conceptions of the nature and attributes of God and of a future state of moral retribution; while almost every superstition that can degrade the human mind reigns in full sway.

To express generally what is sacred, what is forbidden, what is endowed with supernatural powers, either beneficent or malignant, they employ the term *fetiche* or *gri-gri*. Everything which strikes the fancy of a negro is made his *fetiche*. This word is derived either from the Portuguese word *fetisso*, a block adored as an idol, or from *feticzeira*, an enchantress. The Portuguese gave the name to the idols of the negroes on the Senegal, and afterward the word received a more extensive meaning. The general signification now given to *fetiche*, seems to be, an object worshipped, not representing any living figure. The grand natural fetiches are rocks, hills, or trees of remarkable size and beauty. But there are fantastic objects of veneration, which each individual adopts and carries about with him. Such are a piece of ornamented wood, the teeth of a dog, tiger, or elephant, a goat's head, a fish bone, or the end of a ram's horn. They believe the material substances which they worship to be endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil: and also that the *fetichere*, or priest, being in council with their *fetiche*, is made acquainted with all that those divinities know, and thence is familiar with the most secret thoughts and actions of men. The household, or family *fetiche*, narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual in the house, and rewards or punishes each according to his deserts. The public *fetiches* are supposed to be equally watchful over community in general.

These *fetiches* they set up in the houses, the fields, or the entrance and center of the villages, erect altars to them, and place before them dishes of rice, maize, and fruits. The better sort of families have weekly festivals on which they sacrifice a cock or sheep. This *gri-gri* or *fetiche* worship is universal, and hours would not suffice to detail the particulars connected with it, or the debasing influence which it exerts over the mind. The Rev. Mr. Schon found it practiced far up the Niger. He says, 1843, "They showed me their gods. Under a small shade erected before almost every house, among the people of Iddah, were broken pots, pieces of yams, feathers of fowls, horns of animals, broken bows and arrows, knives and spears. Such are their gods! It is easy to attack them or to expose them to ridicule, but not so easy to eradicate the superstitious belief in them from out of the hearts of men."

The framing of these fantastic objects of African worship, consecrating them, and selling them at enormous prices, forms the chief occupation of the African priesthood. Various are the expedients resorted to by these priests, or *gri-gri* men, to obtain presents from the people, by operating on their superstitious notions. One mode is

by teaching that food must be placed at the graves of the dead for the deceased person. The Rev. J. L. Wilson visited one town, where the bones of the deceased king, who had been dead many years, have been enclosed in a box, and deposited in a house appropriated exclusively for this purpose. Fresh food, water, and every comfort which a living man could wish, are daily deposited in the house. These provisions, the people are told by a *gri-gri man*, who stately visited the place to hold converse with the deceased majesty, are devoured by the king. Mr. Wilson, after some difficulty, obtained leave to enter this sacred place, through the small opening affording admittance, and found a bed, chairs, table, &c., used, no doubt, by the superintending priest during his visits.

But in addition to the fetiche idol worship, *idolatry* of the more common form among pagans, seems also to be practised in Africa.

In 1833, the Rev. Mr. Schon wrote the Church Missionary Society, from Sierra Leone, that he had been assured that idol worship was practised in the town, but that those engaged in it, desired to evade detection. Seeing a number of people surrounding a house, he went to the spot and found indications convincing him that some idolatrous ceremonies were being conducted within doors. Attempting to enter, he was repulsed. Returning some time afterward, in company with another missionary, and removing a little of the thatching, he looked in and beheld ten or twelve women prostrated before a hideous idol. Finding themselves discovered, the natives were thrown into the greatest confusion, and opening the door, allowed the missionaries to enter. The mere view, says Mr. Schon, was sufficient to fill the mind with horror. The large idol actually represented the devil, with a blood-stained face and two horns. Before him stood a water pot half filled with the blood of animals that were sacrificed to him. In another corner of the room were smaller idols and *gri-gris*, lying and hanging in great number; and fowls, which were sacrificed to them, were lying in their blood on the floor of the room.

Another peculiar form of the African superstition is their *Devil-worship*. The people cherish the general belief of a future state, little connected, however, with any idea of moral retribution. The question is, whether they have faithfully observed the promise made to the *fetiche*. They uniformly, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, ascribe the works of creation to God, but regard the devil as the author of all providence. Hence will be seen at every entrance into their towns, a *gri-gri pole*, with a rag upon it, or something of the kind, either to prevent his entrance, or conciliate his favor. They never open trade on board of a ship, without pouring a libation of rum into the water, as a portion with which the devil is particularly pleased.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop states, that at all the entrances in the enclosure, or roads to the town, are small houses called the *grand devil-house*, where the people deposite different articles in them to conciliate his dreaded majesty. These presents, of course, form a part of the perquisites of the priests.

Dr. A. C. Wilson, writing from the station at Fishtown, 1840, says, "Today there was a bullock sacrificed to conciliate the devil, asking those favors of him that should be asked of God, and giving him the honor which belongs to Jehovah alone."

The God whom the Africans are supposed to worship, says Dr. McDowell, who spent some time at the colonies, has been called the "*devil*," by European visitors. The place selected for the performance of the mysteries connected with his worship, is in the center of some thick forest, called the *gri-gri bush*, or *devil-bush*. The influence which it is made to exercise over the people generally, is partly superstitious, partly political. The chiefs or head men meet once a month, and offer goats or other animals, as a sacrifice to this evil being or devil. Into this sacred forest no woman or boy is allowed to intrude, the penalty being death, foreign slavery, or a fine. The young freemen of the tribe are initiated into manhood by being taken into the *devil bush*, where they are shown a wooden cross erected, and a loud hoarse voice addresses them from the deep recesses of the wood, telling them certain things they must not do, upon the penalty of being seized by the evil demon, or spirit, and hung upon the cross to be an example to others. These instructions, as might have been expected, are of a purely selfish character, having reference to themselves and their own tribe.

After any one has been initiated into these *gri-gri* mysteries, and offends the chiefs, they are liable to be taken into the *devil-bush*, from which they never return. Nor dare any one ask, "Where is he?" "The devil has taken him," ends all further inquiry or hope, and his friends must not mourn for him. If a chief suffers in this way, his people and his wives must suffer along with him, unless by timely notice from the priest, they desert the doomed one, and attach themselves to another chief or tribe before the arrival of the day of execution.

When Bob Gray, chief at Grand Bassa, sold the *devil-bush*, which now forms a part of the settlement of Edina, to the Agent of the American Colonization Society, the whole surrounding tribes were about to arm against him for his impiety, and he had to pay a heavy fine, as well as solicit the protection of the colony to save his head.

The Methodist church now stands not far from the spot where the blood of the victims of their superstition and cruelty has flowed profusely. Many a wretch has been dragged into the depths of that forest gloom never to return.

The superstitions of the African tribes seem to be the operation of a wild veneration manifested in the form of vague fears of some evil influence being continually impending over them, which they try to obviate by the performance of some ridiculous mummeries, and suspending round their persons their *gri-gris*. Out of this feeling arises the common belief in *Witchcraft*, and the overwhelming superstitious credulity which everywhere prevails, affording to the priests immense power over the inhabitants. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations and barbarous customs, are continually



practised, and in the power of which the people have unbounded confidence; and such is their influence upon the general mind, that they are accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil can invest them.

In the attempts to bewitch any one, the usual mode of operation is said to be, to take a gourd or vessel, containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different colored rags, cats' teeth, parrots' feathers, toads' feet, eggshells, fishbones, snakes' teeth, and lizards' tails. This is secretly placed near the dwelling of the person intended to be brought under its influence, and upon whom the operator wishes to inflict an injury. Terror immediately seizes the individual, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases, death is the inevitable consequence.

Upon the death of any one, therefore, suspicion is excited that he has been bewitched or poisoned, by some one, and the friends invariably institute an inquiry into the question of who had "*made witch*," for the deceased. The power of determining this question rests with their priests, and of course constitutes one of the chief sources of their influence over the people. The instances of cruelty growing out of these trials are frequent and horrible. A certain number of witnesses are selected, and every individual who can be an object of suspicion is required to plunge his hand into a pot of boiling oil. If innocent, it is alleged, he suffers no pain; if guilty, his hand is severely burnt. Should the person thus found guilty, assert his innocence, he is subjected to another, and what everybody regards as a sure and infallible test, that is to swallow a strong and large potation of *sass-wood*. It either produces death, or violent and distressing vomiting. The quantity of the tea, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1836, that is given to the man, when his accusers are bent on his destruction, is altogether incredible—enough, were there no poisonous qualities in it, to destroy the life of any one. Several deaths occurred from this practice, near Mr. Wilson's station, but he finally succeeded in putting a stop to such glaring injustice and cruelty.

But this cruel mode of trial is still prevalent outside of the colonies and mission stations. The journal of the Rev. Mr. Payne, of the Protestant Episcopal Mission, Dec. 9, 1848, records the death of three women, in rapid succession, from this ordeal, who had been accused of causing the death of a man wounded in battle. Upon Mr. Payne remonstrating strongly and endeavoring to put a stop to the work of death, the chief accosted him thus: "Payne, what kind of a man are you? We are trying to rid ourselves of the witches who have caused our late reverses, and you are angry? We verily thought the *deya*, who declared these women to be witches, lied; but, behold, on trial, all prove guilty!!" "Alas," adds Mr. Payne, "for a bloody superstition which receives new strength from every additional victim! Help Lord, for vain is the help of man."

The cases arising under this means of detecting supposed crim-



inals are numerous, one only, in addition, will be presented. The Liberia Herald, 1844, says, "Directly after the death of King Shaka, of the Gallinas, a secret inquisition was set on foot to ferret out the *witch-man*. For a long time the search was fruitless; at length a *gri-gri man*, by continued incantations and daring diabolical communications, succeeded, and the hapless regicide was brought to light. Confronted with his accuser, he protested that he was innocent—the *doctor* protested he was guilty, and the all-discovering ordeal was resorted to, to decide the question. Of course the man was condemned to die, and as King Shaka was *big king too much*—the severity of the punishment was proportioned to the dignity of the deceased. Sentence was pronounced and thus executed—the man was taken to the mouth of the river, his tongue cut out, and he thrown alive to the sharks.

"This ordeal," continues the Herald, "is a most powerful engine of state policy in Africa. It is the right arm of an African monarch. He has only to keep on terms with the *doctors* or *gri-gri men*, who are the constituted inquisitors, and nothing is easier than to rid himself, at any time, of a dangerous or aspiring subject. Whether the ordeal be the *sassy water*, the *boiling oil*, or the *heated iron*, they are never at a loss for means to produce any result they wish. If it be the first process, they weaken or strengthen the decoction, and increase or lessen the quantity so as to render it innocent or fatal, just as interest or inclination may lead. If the second or third, they can, by previous application of some preparation to the part to be operated upon, enable it, for a short time, to resist the effect of heat; and then, by hurrying the ordeal, the accused escapes unscathed. If they conclude to murder the victim, they reverse the operation, and guilt is as clear as noonday. Thus this system puts the life of the whole community in the hands of this class of men, and renders it a formidable fraternity of conjurers."

*Polygamy*, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1834, is universal. A man's importance in society is according to the number of his wives. These are regarded as his property, and in reality are his servants. They are usually purchased at a very early age. One of the wives in any family is the mistress of the others, and is honored by them as such. They are all in strict subjection to their husbands, and not unfrequently are severely chastised for the slightest offense. The women perform all the drudgery. At the age of about twelve the females are taken to the *devil-bush*, and retained for something like two years. They are under the care of the *grand devil-man*, who, at stated times, rushes out into the midst of them, and utters his oracles. They are induced to believe that he is a supernatural being, and his dress and manner both confirm it. So far as the object of this confinement could be learned, it was to prepare them for the duties of life—one of the chief of which is to make a full and unreserved communication of everything they may know to their husbands.

In 1839, Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, says, "That in all the tribes bigamy was common. No sacredness was attached to the marriage relation. They retain their

wives as long as they are pleased with them, and then sell them. In some tribes one man would have from one to twenty wives. The Manomoisies sometimes have as high as eighty. Wives are bought and sold. The females do the work; men work till they obtain wherewith to buy a wife, then work no more, only trade and fight."

It has been stated already, that the king of Ashantee, 1819, kept three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. All the female sex is considered as at the king's disposal, says Mr. Bowditch, and an annual assemblage takes place, when, having made a large selection for himself, he distributes the remainder among his grandees, who are bound to receive them with the humblest gratitude.

The number of wives possessed by the king of Dahomey equalled those of the king of Ashantee. The stoutest of them, says Mr. Bowditch, were enrolled into a military regiment, regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers; and according to the testimony of several Europeans, went through the exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyoës, on which occasion he was attended by a body guard of eight hundred women.

English papers, for May, 1849, brought us some details of recent negotiations by an English agent, with the king of Dahomey, from which we learn that the number of his armed women is near six thousand at present. They constitute his body guard, and never leave him, and are answerable for the safety of his person.

It was the boast of the king of Eyoë, that his queens, linked hand in hand, would reach from one end of the kingdom to the other. These women, says Mr. Bowditch, act as the king's body-guards, perform the most menial offices, and are seen in every part of the kingdom, carrying on their heads heavy burdens from place to place, favored only with an exemption from ordinary toil.

But we need not multiply quotations. Enough is given to prove that one of the greatest evils which can mar the social condition of any people—polygamy—prevails to a vastly greater extent in Africa than in any other portion of the world.

Next in order comes the *domestic slavery of Africa*. In addition to the degrading customs and cruel superstitions, which cannot have had their origin in the slave trade, slavery, to a frightful extent, exists in Africa, and the wars and demoralization produced by ambition or the hope of making prisoners, for slaves, and to secure plunder, would still continue if slavery in all the world beside were abolished. On this subject the materials are ample, but we must limit ourselves to some of the more prominent facts. This view was forced upon the mind of Burkhardt, the African traveler, who, on concluding his labors, says, "Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent."

Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast of Africa.

says that "slavery is common in all the tribes. They buy their own people. Some Manonoisies own four or five hundred slaves."

Major Denham, the English traveler, states, that on the occasion of the marriage of the shiek of Bornou with the daughter of the sultan of Mandara, a combined expedition was sent against the Musgow nation, which, after a desperate struggle, brought in three thousand slaves; and the nuptials were celebrated with barbaric pomp, furnished out of the tears and captivity of so many victims."

The Major further states, that, "For the last eight years the shiek of Bornou has carried on a very desperate and bloody war with the sultan of Begharmi, who governs a powerful and warlike people, inhabiting a very large tract of country south of Bornou, and on the eastern bank of the Shary. Although meeting with some reverses, and on one occasion losing his eldest son in the wars, who was greatly beloved by the people, he has, upon the whole, been successful: and is said to have, from the first to the last, destroyed and *led into slavery* more than thirty thousand of the sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns and driving off his flocks."

Kano, the capital of a province of the same name, and one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Soudain, has a population of from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Of these, according to Captain Clapperton, who visited it, more than half are slaves. The sale and purchase of slaves is as common as the sale or transfer of any other species of property. He describes the slave market as very extensive.

Even the wives of the kings, as already stated, are no better than slaves, in the common and harshest acceptation of the word; and as the pomp of the sovereign consists principally in the multitude of his wives, it is easy to conceive the numbers of one class alone who are reduced to servitude.

Dr. Goheen, the very intelligent and successful physician to the African mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, after more than a year's residence in Liberia, thus writes:

"Slavery in the United States, in its worst form, and under the lash, is not as bad as slavery here in its mildest form. It is a well known truth, that in Western Africa nine-tenths of the whole population are in a state of slavery. The females are all sold at an early age, to be, when they grow up, wives, or *beasts of burden*, as their proprietors may require. If the majority here were not slaves, how would they ever get into the foreign slave dealers' hands? They are sent in hundreds from the interior to the slave-factories and sold. They are not deprived of their liberty when they leave these shores—they only change masters. Slaves they are, and such they have been to the most savage rulers, who inflict upon them the severest punishments, and feel free to kill, to eat, or to throw them alive upon the funeral pile, at pleasure. Slavery in the United States, though an evil, cannot possibly be as great a one as it is here. Here is the country where slavery, with all its legitimate and concomitant horrors exists. Africa is the mother that clings to it as her only, her dearest offspring. And here is the country so deeply dyed in the

sin of slavery as to require all the Abolitionists and all the Colonizationists, and their united means and labors for centuries, in clearing its skirts and removing the foul stains that make her the prize money of other nations."

The testimony in relation to the domestic slavery of Africa might be greatly amplified, and the truth of the proposition, that it would continue, though slavery in all the world beside were abolished, be more fully proved, but what has already been presented is deemed quite sufficient for our purpose.

The evils arising from the *tyranny, cruelties, and wars* of Africa, have been incidentally presented, in the course of our investigations, and we shall not dwell upon them at length, though volumes might be filled with details of the most shocking character.

The Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1839, says, "Only a few years since, the king of Ashantee sent the governor of Cape Coast sixty jaw bones of human victims which he had killed, as an evidence of his despotic power, thinking at the same time it would prove to be a present of great value. The king of Ashantee thinks as little of taking off the heads of his subjects as those of his chickens."

The Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury, an English missionary in South Africa, 1829, thus describes a native chief, recently deceased. "His cruelties almost exceeded belief; he rioted in blood; and never had higher enjoyment than when killing his own subjects. When his mother died, immense numbers of his people were summoned together to weep, and the mourning was appointed to continue three days and nights. Every artifice was made use of to provoke sorrow, and cause the tears to flow; but it was impossible for the multitude to continue weeping constantly; and yet, when any one did not shed what the tyrant considered a sufficient quantity of tears, he was instantly despatched for want of affection to his mother's memory. In the course of those three days three hundred persons are said to have been put to death. And whenever a man was killed, his wife or wives, and all his children were destroyed on the same day."

The Rev. Mr. Champion, missionary in King Dingaan's country, South Africa, says, 1836, "The king holds his eminence by many customs that are in vogue. He eats the first green corn, and at the celebration calls all the nation together to dance before him. Sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and such like, are cultivated and reserved for the king. No one can sit in a chair but the king. One of his captains was here not long since, who was afraid even to sit on a box, lest he should resemble the king. Blankets, except the very meanest description, are royal ones. For the common people to obtain and wear them would be instant death. Anything at all fine goes to the king, and for others to wear or use them is to aspire to be like the king. The ivory comes all to the king, and for this purpose he sends out many men to hunt elephants. With the teeth he obtains of the whites presents of beads, cloths, &c., which he bestows on his immense family and his favorite captains. When they return from war, all the cattle are driven to the chief town as the king's property.



Some he bestows on the brave and on his generals, but the many are reserved to increase his immense herds and for slaughter.

"He has another stern grasp on his people, in that punishment which is inflicted for small as well as great offenses. A word that bears in any way against the king, or is suspected even, and the die is cast, the man is counted for dead. A captain is killed, and often his family and dependents follow him. The king wishes perhaps to show his power, and to see spoils coming in from slaughter, and he sends, as lately, and in one night, after by stratagem he had collected all at home, cuts off a rich country of his own tribe or his own subjects.

"Cases of individuals put to death are almost always occurring. The people are shy to talk about the subject, after they have told you it was by order of the king. It is almost always because they are alleged to have done something wrong, but where or when, no one knows; only when reasoned into a corner, they say the king knows. Always it is, yes, father, it is all right—when even son, mother, father, or brother is slain."

Infanticide of a peculiar nature prevails in Africa: twins are never allowed to live. As soon as they are born, they are put into two earthen pots and exposed to beasts of the forest; and the unfortunate mother ever afterward endures great trouble and hardships.

The exposure of the aged and infirm, says Mr. Moffat, after they are incapable of supporting themselves, is common. They are left in desert places, with an allowance of food and water to subsist them for a time, after which, if not sooner devoured by beasts of prey, they are suffered to perish of hunger.

"Another sanguinary custom grows out of the superstitious veneration of the Africans for the shark. The person upon whom suspicion of crime has fallen, is ordered by the king to swim across the river, when, if innocent, he is expected to arrive safe upon the other side; but if otherwise, the sharks are to have him for breakfast. The trial takes place, says Dr. Porter, before his majesty and an immense concourse of people; the suspected person is brought forth and forced into the river, when the poor victim makes every exertion to reach the destined goal, but, strange to say, the king has never yet left the beach without being fully convinced of the truth of his suspicions, as no instance is on record of the sharks ever allowing him to be in the wrong."

The testimony already adduced, proves that many of the sanguinary wars of Africa have their origin in other causes than the stimulus furnished by the slave trade. Were additional testimony needed in proof of this point, much is afforded in Moffat's *Southern Africa*. The writer, long a resident missionary, and an active agent in many of the scenes described, has given the world a work of great interest and value. The army of forty thousand Mantatees, who approached and attacked the tribes in which Mr. Moffat was laboring, were themselves refugees, robbed of their cattle and driven from their homes, by superior force, and compelled, in turn, to rob others, that they themselves might live. Having heard that there were immense



flocks of sheep at the English colony at the Cape, which they wished to possess, they were fighting their way in that direction, when compelled to change their course by the valor of the better armed forces which they encountered. They do not seem to have had any connection whatever with the slave trade.

The Rev. Dr. Philip says, that king Moselekatse, who had descended on the thickly-peopled regions of the north, like a sweeping pestilence, capturing thousands of slaves, and leaving in his course nothing but dilapidated walls and heaps of rubbish, mingled with human bones and skulls, had never traded in slaves. The cruelties of the Matebele nation, of which Moselekatse was king, is thus depicted by Mr. Moffat, and will furnish an appropriate conclusion to these investigations. "Nothing less than the entire subjugation, or destruction of the vanquished, could quench their insatiable thirst for power. Thus, when they conquered a town, the terrified inhabitants were driven in a mass to the outskirts, when the parents and all the married women were slaughtered on the spot. Such as had dared to be brave in the defense of their town, their wives and their children, were reserved for a still more terrible death; dry grass, saturated with fat, was tied around their naked bodies and then set on fire. The youths and girls were loaded as beasts of burden, with the spoils of the town, to be marched to the homes of their victors. If the town was in an isolated position, the helpless infants were left to perish either with hunger, or to be destroyed by beasts of prey. On such an event the lions scent the slain and leave their lair; the hyenas and jackalls emerge from their lurking places in broad day, and revel in the carnage; while a cloud of vultures may be seen, descending on the living and the dead, and holding a carnival on human flesh. Should a suspicion arise in the savage bosom that these helpless innocents may fall into the hands of friends, they will prevent this by collecting them into a fold, and after raising over them a pile of brushwood, apply the flaming torch to it, when the town, out lately the scene of mirth, becomes a heap of ashes."

In relation to the *cannibalism* of Africa, a subject so revolting, we will not be expected to give many details. Of the existence of this practice there can be no doubt. The annual report of the American Colonization Society, 1828, contains the following statement:

"The most fierce and atrocious conflicts, instigated by slave traders, have prevailed during the last two years, among the tribes in the vicinity of Monrovia. The crime of cannibalism, shocking, it may be supposed, even to barbarous natures, has been perpetrated during these wars. On the capture of a small town among the Gorahs by the Deys, thirty victims were sacrificed to this detestable practice."

Many are the witnesses who have borne testimony to the general prevalence of cannibalism over large districts of Africa. Very recent reports of scientific exploring companies sent out from France, also give sufficient evidence to prove the truth of the previous reports, leaving us under the painful necessity of believing that all that has been said of cannibalism in Africa is true.—*See Appendix.*

As stated in the outset, the object of the investigations of the subjects coming under our first head, has been to show the true state of Africa's social and moral condition, independent of the slave trade; and to prove that even if it were possible to break up that traffic by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity and little good accomplished for Africa. And have we not succeeded? Have not facts enough been given, to prove that Africa's degradation is complete—that if the slave trade were this hour annihilated, and all the evils which we have enumerated as not dependent upon the slave trade still existing, the social and moral condition of that continent would demand the utmost efforts of Christians everywhere for its recovery from the horrors of barbarism.

It might, by some, have been supposed that the catalogue of woes oppressing Africa, *and belonging legitimately to herself*, were enough to atone for her iniquities. But no: such heaven-daring violations of divine law, such impious disregard of the principles of justice and humanity, could not escape the indignation of the Almighty. 'The sufferings of wicked men, the consequence of their own transgressions, *can never make atonement for their sins*. There is no principle of God's moral government of nations, that will permit the stay of execution of judgment for transgression, *but upon repentance*. Africa had not repented, but was adding iniquity unto iniquity. Justice, therefore, cried for vengeance, and the slave traders, resembling more the demons of the lowest pit than men, were let loose upon this doomed people, to involve the oppressor and the oppressed in one common ruin.

We shall see, however, before we close, *that mercy was mingled with judgment*. And we shall find that in the history of the African slave trade, and the events connected with it, we have another illustration of the truth of the proposition, that when God has designs of mercy toward a wicked people, the judgments with which he visits them for their sins, are adapted to secure their repentance and lead them back to Himself.

## II. The Modifications which have been produced on the Social and Moral Condition of Africa by the Slave Trade.

Until introduced by the Moors, it appears that the trading in slaves was little known to the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. The prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the captors, and formed the marriage portions given to their children. It seems that, in general, they were humanely treated, excepting when the cruelties of their superstitions led to opposite results. It is, says Denham and Clapperton, to the pernicious principles of the Moorish traders, whose avaricious brutality is beyond all belief, that the traffic for slaves in the interior of Africa not only owes its origin, but its continuance. The eagerness of the interior population to possess the alluring articles of merchandize offered, tempted them to sell their slaves, while the enormous profits on their sale, in the cities along the Mediterranean

caused the Moorish traders to refuse to receive anything in exchange for their goods but slaves.

On the western coast of Africa, as briefly detailed in our former lecture, the slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese. For a long series of years the supply was obtained by forcibly seizing the natives, and confining them on board their vessels, until a sufficient number for a cargo were obtained. This practice, though inconsiderable at its commencement, became general, says Rees' *Cyclopædia*, and was prosecuted by Portuguese, Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, &c. The wretched inhabitants were thus driven from the coast and compelled to take refuge in the interior. But the Europeans still pursued them, entering their rivers, and thus penetrating the heart of the country. The increased demand for slaves, however, soon became so great as to require a less precarious mode of securing a supply. Accordingly, forts and factories were established, merchandize landed, and endeavors made, by a peaceable deportment, by presents, and by every appearance of munificence, to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans.

These traffickers were not long in discovering the chiefs or kings of the African tribes, and making treaties of peace and commerce, by which it was agreed that prisoners of war and convicts for crimes should be sentenced to European servitude; and that the Europeans should, in return, supply the kings with the luxuries of the north. These treaties were immediately carried into effect, and the terrible consequences which might have been anticipated were soon developed. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that the results were foreseen by the traders, and this scheme of extending their operations, seemingly under the sanctions of justice, was thrown before the world, in this plausible form, to prevent the indignant frown of public sentiment from prohibiting the further prosecution of the traffic in slaves.

The number of persons convicted of crimes, fell so far short of the wants of the slave traders, that other means had to be adopted to augment their numbers. Not only those fairly convicted of crime were now sentenced to slavery, but even those who were suspected: and with regard to prisoners of war, they delivered into slavery, not only those who were taken in a state of public enmity and injustice, but those also who were taken in the arbitrary skirmishes of the venal sovereigns of Africa. Wars were made among the tribes near the coast, not as formerly, from motives of retaliation and defense, or from love of conquest, but for the sake of obtaining prisoners alone, and the advantages resulting from the sale of them. When a European ship came in sight, this was considered as a motive for war, and a signal for the commencement of hostilities. The despotic sovereigns of Africa, influenced by the venal motives of European traffic, first made war upon the neighboring tribes in the violation of every principle of justice; and if they did not thus succeed in their main object, they turned their arms against their own subjects. The first villages at which they arrived were immediately surrounded, and afterward set on fire; and the wretched inhabitants seized, as they were escaping from the flames.

In a few years the traffic in slaves became systematized, and the residents remaining along the coast became the regular agents between the slave merchants and the tribes in the interior, who were better able to procure slaves to send to the ports where they were in demand. The slave trade was thus gradually extended from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts into the interior, by Europeans, as it had been from the Mediterranean by the Moors, and it has been no uncommon occurrence for the slaves sold to the traders on the Atlantic coast, to have been brought from the interior a distance of 700 miles.

The influence of this horrible traffic upon Africa was most pernicious. Deplorable as was the social condition of her people, independent of the slave trade, it would seem, at first view, to have been rendered infinitely worse by it.

On this occasion, however, time will not allow us to present the wide range of facts which we have been able to collect upon this branch of our subject. At present we can only remark, that from the testimony of many witnesses—embracing travelers in Africa, and missionaries, and colonists—it appears that the slave trade, besides vastly aggravating some of the social evils previously existing, and greatly multiplying the causes of war among the different tribes, has exerted a paralyzing effect upon the little agricultural industry which previously existed; and that there is less of social happiness and less of personal enjoyment in the districts where the traffic prevails, than in the interior where its influence has not so fully reached; and further, that the king of Dahomey is at present largely engaged in supplying the slave traders with slaves, amounting to the number of 30,000 annually, to obtain which he makes annual slave hunts, the dangers of which he himself shares.

One case only we shall present, and of recent occurrence, to afford an idea of the cruelties practised at the depots for slaves on the coast, where they are collected for transportation; and to present a well-attested account of the horrible atrocities to which the slave trade leads those who are enlisted in it.

In July, 1842, Rev. J. L. Wilson visited a slave factory on the Gaboon, to inspect its condition. On his arrival at the gate of the barracoon, which was an enclosure of more than an acre, the slaves were talking and laughing cheerfully, but the moment the gate opened, the most profound silence ensued, and they became terrified, supposing that a victim was to be selected to be eaten. Among the slaves were persons of both sexes, from five to forty years of age, not one of the number having any covering. Most of the men were fastened two and two, one ankle of each being fettered. The women, girls, and half-grown boys were made secure by a brass ring encircling the neck, through which a chain passed, grouping them together in companies of forty or fifty each. Boys and girls under ten years of age were left unshackled. The poor wretches had to sleep on bamboo platforms arranged round the building, without any covering to protect them from the cold and the mosquitoes, both of which were intolerable to persons in their situation at that season of the year.

“But there was one company which particularly arrested my



attention—affected my heart. It was made up of mothers who had recently been bereft of their children. How they came to be chained together, I cannot tell, unless their keepers, yielding to what they considered an innocent and harmless desire, allowed them to be drawn together by their sympathies and sorrows.

“Their owner knew, perhaps, what had become of their children, but he was unaffected by the reminiscence. Not so with them. Their countenances indicated an intensity of anguish that cannot be described. Though heathen mothers, a flame had been kindled in their hearts which no calamity could extinguish.

“When infants are born in the barracoon, or when they are brought there with their mothers—because it is inconvenient to keep them in the factory, and almost impossible to carry them across the ocean—they are subjected to a premature and violent death. I speak advisedly, when I affirm, that this is a common occurrence in the operations of the slave trade; and it was in this way, I was credibly informed, that these sorrowing females had been sundered from their offspring. \* \* \* I left the barracoon with my curiosity amply satisfied, and with emotions which will never allow me to visit another.”

The horrors of the *middle passage*, as the transportation of the slaves from the ports in Africa, to the countries where they are sold, is called, are so well known to every reading man, that I shall only present one instance of the revelations made by the capture of a slaver, with the view of affording an idea of the capacity of our Liberia colony to receive and provide for emigrants who may land upon its territory.

The Pons, a slave ship on the coast of Africa, was captured by an American vessel, in December, 1845, and her cargo of slaves landed at Monrovia, and provided for by the Liberians. She had eight hundred and sixty-six slaves on board, eighteen of whom died during the night after the capture. The vessel had no slave decks, and these poor wretches were almost literally piled in bulk on the water casks below. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. Forty-five or fifty of the number were females, who were confined in the round-house cabin on deck. Notwithstanding this crowded state of the vessel, it had been the intention of the captain to take on board an additional four hundred slaves. The stench from below was so great, says Capt. Bell, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. The men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes, when all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor slaves when the hatches were closed? “I am informed,” says Capt. Bell, “that very often, in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and that this was probably the reason so many died, or rather were found dead, on the morning after the capture. None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures endure in their transit across the ocean.”

The vessel was fourteen days in reaching Monrovia, during which



time one hundred and fifty died. "When they were landed," says the *Liberia Herald*, "nearly the whole population collected on the beach to witness the sight. The colonists, with the exception of a very few, had never witnessed such a spectacle before. The slaves were much emaciated, and so debilitated that many of them found difficulty in getting out of the boats. Such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness, inflicted by a lawless and ferocious cupidity, so excited our people that it became unsafe for the captain of the slaver, who had come to look on, to remain at the beach. Eight slaves died in the harbor the day before they were landed. The prize master says, as soon as a slave became helpless through debility or sickness, those nearest would throttle him, in order that his body removed, they would have more room. They were all, men and women, with the exception of two or three called headmen, landed in a state of perfect nudity!"

Dr. Lugenbeel, the United States' agent, immediately put them all out among the people of Liberia as apprentices. The Methodist mission took charge of eighty boys and twenty girls. The education of many of them has been progressing well, and a number of them are at present, 1849, members of the church, and rejoicing in the faith of the gospel. Oh what a kind Providence to turn the captivity of these poor creatures into a blessing of inestimable value!

Since the employment of a naval force on the coast for the capture of slavers, many expedients are adopted by the heartless villians engaged in the slave trade to escape detection. One instance only need be noticed to give a true idea of the recklessness of life which prevails. In 1830, Captain Homans, having taken on board six hundred slaves, on the coast of Africa, set sail for Cuba, found himself about being surrounded by four cruizers who had watched his movements. Favored by the darkness of the night, which soon set in, he extended a heavy chain cable around his vessel outside the railing, with a ponderous anchor attached, and bringing his slaves one by one on deck, by means of their handcuffs of iron he fastened them to the cable. The penwork of the hold and every thing that could create suspicion, was also brought on deck, bound in matting well filled with shot, and thrown overboard. The cable, by a single blow of the axe, was then cut loose, a heavy plunge was heard as the anchor reached the water, and a crash as the cable fell off the side, above which arose one terrible shriek—it was the last cry of the murdered Africans. One moment more, and all was still. Six hundred human beings had gone down with that anchor and chain into the depths of the ocean. Two hours after daylight the captain was overhauled. There was no evidence that his vessel was a slaver, and her captors were obliged to let her pass.

We have said that the slave trade did not originate the degradation into which Africa has been sunk, but that, though it aggravated many existing evils, and introduced some new elements of woe, by arousing the cupidity of the inhabitants, *yet it was itself only a legitimate fruit of the social and moral degradation previously existing on that continent.* Listen to the reasons upon which we base our opinion.

Africa, sunk in the gloom of the darkest superstitions known to the world, and neglecting all that industry which creates a surplus of products to constitute the elements of a legitimate commerce, and which secures to nations those comforts and luxuries not produced in their own latitudes; when an intercourse with civilized countries was opened up, had not an adequate supply of agricultural fruits, or mineral wealth, to exchange for the European commodities of which she found herself in want. This neglect of necessary labor on her own soil, which was so well adapted to yield abundantly the tropical products then beginning to be in demand in civilized countries, left her but one resource to secure the articles she desired—*and that resource was the selling of human flesh!* Alas, for poor Africa! Human flesh was the only commodity which she could supply, in sufficient quantity, to the commerce of the world. No proposition is more susceptible of demonstration than this, *that the slave trade is a legitimate fruit of Africa's degradation.* Had she not rejected the gospel which once blessed her, and, as a necessary consequence, lost her industry and sunk into barbarism, she would not have been under the necessity of selling her children, nor would it have been possible to have persuaded her to adopt a measure so unnatural, so cruel, so inhuman, so infernal, and fraught with such a deluge of woe. And there is but one way of suppressing the evils under which Africa groans, and that is, to restore to her that blessed gospel which she rejected, and that industry which she lost; and then, the causes creating the slave trade being removed, that traffic itself must necessarily be annihilated, and Africa permanently redeemed.

Had time allowed the presentation of all the testimony collected in reference to the modifications produced upon the social and moral condition of Africa by the slave trade, the picture, though dark indeed, would have been faint when compared with the sad reality, and limited when contrasted with the vast extent of that traffic and the agonizing sufferings which are its attendants. The slave trade, it will be perceived, had no tendency to check or suppress the domestic slavery of Africa, but made its perpetuation of greater importance as furnishing a principal means of keeping up the traffic with the slave trader. It has done nothing to break down the idolatry, the devil-worship, the witchcraft, the tyranny, and cruelties of Africa, which have deeply degraded her, but has left these all unchanged. The tropical cultivation employing slave labor, makes a demand upon Africa chiefly for males, and thus the slave trade, leaving an excess of females in that country, has, no doubt, increased polygamy, and the miseries growing out of that social evil. The slave trade did not originate the sanguinary wars of the powerful kings of the interior, who, actuated by ambition of conquest, or love of plunder, laid waste the weaker nations that surrounded them, strewing the earth with their corpses, that they might decorate their rude halls with skulls; but it has greatly multiplied the petty feuds of smaller tribes and led the larger ones to make regular slave hunts, to supply the increasing demand for slave labor. And though the

slave trade, by awakening the passion of avarice into a predominance over that of superstition, may have limited the number of human sacrifices, it was but to prolong a life that it might be subjected to all the vicissitudes of foreign slavery.

And thus, while the social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade, was truly deplorable, and sufficient to rouse to action every man whose heart can sympathize with human suffering, the slave trade rendered its condition still more dismal, making the call upon the Christian world for relief still more urgent.

### III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from Barbarism.

No great movements of mankind, either voluntary or compulsory, uprooting the population of one country and transplanting it into another, have ever occurred without producing important results, for good or for ill, to the people transferred and to the world. The removal to North America of portions of the populations of Europe and Africa—the first voluntary, and the second compulsory—the one the most enlightened and upright of the human family, and the other the most ignorant and debased—the extremes of humanity—and their coalescence, upon our soil, in the relation of master and slave, was one of those strange and incomprehensible events, the design of which cannot be fathomed by any depth of human wisdom and foresight, but can only be understood when time has wrought out its ultimate results.

Our first settlers from Europe were the advocates of a Free Christianity, who had been exiled by an intolerant zeal for religious uniformity, and forced to flee from persecution to a land where they could obtain equal rights and liberty of conscience. No sooner had they become fairly seated in their wilderness homes, than they began to afford examples of the practical tendencies of their religious faith, by attempting the education and conversion of the native Indians! The substance of their religious belief, so far as it had a controlling influence in modeling their course of policy, may be thus stated.

They believed that man was originally created a pure and holy being, and in the possession of an extent of happiness that was only limited by his capacity for enjoyment; but that by an act of disobedience he lost his original purity of character, and involved himself and all his posterity in moral ruin, and thus the whole race fell under the condemnation of the law of God. They believed, that all the ignorance, suffering, injustice, and oppression existing in the world are a necessary consequence of the depravity of men's hearts; and that these evils must continue until mankind are brought back to their allegiance to God, and the rebel receives pardon and is released from the curse of the divine law. They believed, that notwithstanding man's transgression, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life;" and that the Lord Jesus Christ, as the substitute for sinners, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, having

satisfied the demands of divine justice and made an atonement for sin, thus secured pardon, justification, and eternal life, for all who should believe in his name: but that those who believed not, must forever continue under condemnation and wrath. They believed that human misery would disappear from earth, in the proportion that men could be persuaded to embrace the religion of Christ, and to conform their conduct to the teachings of his gospel; and that as soon as the whole world could be brought under the influence of that gospel, Humanity would dry up her tears and peace and joy become universal. They believed that the command of the Saviour to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is as fully binding upon believers in after ages, as it was upon those to whom it was at first delivered, and that the consequences which he declared should attend that preaching—"He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned"—will continue to accompany it to the latest generations of men; and that, therefore, the responsibility of spreading the gospel as fully rests upon all believers, in all time, so far as their circumstances, pecuniary abilities, opportunities, talents, and spiritual gifts will allow, as it did upon Paul, when, in view of the sinfulness of men and their liability to wrath, he exclaimed, "for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."

Entertaining such views of their responsibilities to God and to man, the desire to promote the temporal and eternal interests of their posterity, and of the world, became a ruling principle of action with the first emigrants to New England. They commenced their labors on such a scale as their circumstances permitted, and in a few years mastered the language of the Indians, established schools for their education, and translated and printed the Bible in the native tongue, thus enabling the savage of the forest to read the words of eternal life. Such was the spirit of the Pilgrims, and such the origin, in this country, of that Christian philanthropy which includes within its embrace the whole human family, and is now exerting its energies to give the gospel to the whole heathen world.

The first of our supply of the population of Africa, dragged from their homes by the promptings of avarice, to gratify an unhallowed commercial cupidity, were landed in the colony of Virginia in 1620, the same year in which the Puritan Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. This is a remarkable coincidence. The first advocates of a Free Christianity, and the first African slaves who touched our coast were landed in the same year.

In thus bringing together darkness and light—in mingling the lowest form of Pagan ignorance and depravity with the highest development of Christian intelligence and integrity—it would seem that Divine Providence designed to demonstrate to the world the capability of a Free Christianity *to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined, and thus to prove the unity and natural equality of the human race.*

Our investigations under this head have been directed, though but



incidentally, to the facts connected with the solution of this great problem—the *sufficiency of a pure Christianity to restore to man his lost happiness*—with the view, principally, of pointing out the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

The best authorities make the number of slaves exported from Africa, up to 1847, about seven millions eight hundred and forty-five thousand.\* Great as this number appears, the estimate is no doubt within the actual number of the victims of the slave trade. And then, to have a proper conception of the extent of the sufferings following in the train of this traffic, it must be remembered, that the number of lives lost in Africa during the wars for the capture of slaves and their transportation to the coast, equals the number exported, making her entire loss fifteen millions six hundred and ninety thousand human beings. This statement will give a just conception of the extent to which Africa has been robbed of her children. To obtain the facts which we need in our discussion, our plan has been to follow the more prominent lines along which the slave trade has borne the population of Africa, and ascertain what results have followed, in the several countries to which the African people have been taken, with the view of determining the intellectual and moral progress they may have made, and the present qualifications of each group to act as pioneers in the work of Africa's redemption.

Passing by, for the present, those transported to the British West Indies, to Brazil, to Cuba and to Mexico, we find that those imported into the colonies now composing the United States, were very differently situated from each other and from their brethren left behind in the pagan darkness of Africa. A part of them fell into the hands of men, not so scrupulous, perhaps, as others of the colonists, on the subject of equal rights, but who, to say the least, were so far under the influence of Christian principle, that they deemed it an imperative duty to teach their households to read the Bible, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. The term *household*, according to their interpretation, included slaves. At that day apprentices were not *masters* in the shops where they learned trades, nor students *sovereigns* in colleges to which they were sent to be educated. The judgment of age was respected, because the experience of years was supposed to impart wisdom. Implicit obedience to those in authority, whether parents, teachers, masters or magistrates, was demanded and yielded; and the consequence was, that while education enlightened the mind, and religious instruction moulded the heart, a generation of men were ushered upon the stage of action, with a love of order and submission to law, as unalterable as was their hostility to despotism, and their determination to secure to themselves the rights of conscience, and the blessings of civil liberty—of liberty under the restraints of law. But while they rigidly held the doctrine of *the natural equality of the human race*, they as unchangeably believed *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*



The school house and the church, the sources of intelligence and morality, with them were objects of the first importance, because the perpetuity of the free institutions they were founding would depend, they believed, not upon any magic in the mere possession of freedom, but in the intelligence and moral principle of their posterity. While, therefore, they labored for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Indian and the African, they refused to admit them to the privileges of citizenship. No morbid sentimentality upon the subject of equal rights could induce them to forget the peril into which they would cast the precious jewel of the elective franchise, by conferring it upon savage or half-civilized men, necessarily destitute of the ability through ignorance, of making a discreet use of the privilege. While, then, they believed the savage man to be equal, *by nature*, with the civilized man, and that, by education, he could be made his equal, also, *intellectually and morally*, until thus educated and capable of being controlled by moral principle, they would have conceived it to be madness to make the savage man the equal partner in commercial business with the civilized man, and much less would they have considered it a measure of safety to make him the equal in the administration of government.

It was into the midst of such men as these, though contrary to the principles and wishes of the majority, and in opposition to their remonstrances and legislative enactments, that England forced the population of Africa. And, as if by an instinctive forecast, despotism seems to have anticipated the effects, on this continent, of a Free Christianity, generating independence of thought, and demanding for men equal rights and liberty of conscience, and sought, by casting in a mass of ignorance from Africa, to retard if not to prevent the full development of these great principles. This disposition was clearly indicated by the English statesman, who declared, as a sufficient reason for turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Colonists against the farther importation of slaves, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans—they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly Colonists."

That such motives prompted England to prosecute the introduction of slaves into the colonies with great activity, was fully believed by the American statesmen of the Revolution, and their views were thus energetically expressed, by Mr. Jefferson, in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, but which was afterward omitted :

"He (the king of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms

among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

But that desire to impart the blessings of the gospel to their fellow-men, which had prompted that yet feeble colony to attempt the conversion of the Indians, could not but lead also to efforts for the elevation of the poor African slave. In accordance with this view, we find that the slaves were subjected, more or less, to the rules of their masters' families, affording, to many of them, opportunities of intellectual and moral improvement, which soon began to elevate them in the scale of being from that of the lowest state of barbarism, which they had occupied in Africa, to one of approximate civilization. Pious ministers, also, being generally allowed free access to the slaves, obeyed the injunction to preach the gospel to every creature, and labored for their improvement and conversion. Thus nearly the whole mass of the victims of the slave trade, who were brought to the territory now forming the United States, were ultimately placed under circumstances which afforded to them advantages of infinite value, and from which, to this day, they might have been excluded, had they not been brought from Africa.

Many generations of men have been ushered into existence and disappeared again from the earth, while these causes have been in operation. Of the number of thousands of colored men who have lived, during this period, embraced the gospel, and died in the hope of a blessed immortality, we can form no estimate. But the number of professors of religion of African descent, now living in the United States, may be estimated at nearly three hundred and fifty thousand.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, many years since, commenced a systematic course of missionary labors among the colored people, but designed principally for the slaves. The Reports of this Church, for 1849, show that a large number of missionaries are employed in this field, and give twenty-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored persons as members at the North, and one hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-eight at the South. We find it stated in a southern paper, that the number of colored members, in the slave States, belonging to the Baptist Church, is over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Associate Reformed Presbyterians, in the South, have also long been engaged in the religious training of the slaves, and have received many of them into church membership. At the present moment, the Sabbath schools of these several religious bodies are very extensive and very efficient. The Cumberland Presbyterians, we understand, are not inattentive to the religious wants of the slave, but we are without statistics on the subject of their operations. The number of colored members in the Baptist Church at the North is not known to us, but must amount to several hundreds. Our estimate of three hundred and fifty thousand, as the whole of the colored members of churches in the United States, is, therefore, probably not above the true number.

But besides these pleasing results of the agencies accompanying slavery in this country, it must be added, that we have at present about four hundred and sixty thousand free persons of color, from whom the shackles of slavery have fallen, and many of whom possess an amount of intelligence which indicates, very plainly, that equal advantages only are needed to enable them to attain a high standard in all that adorns the character of the civilized and Christian man. And, in addition to all this, it must be noticed, that the whole colored population of the United States, which will number, in 1850, about three millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand—though the standard of morality, with the larger part, is known to be very low—may be said to be freed from the degrading influences of African superstition and idolatry, and thus made more accessible to the Christian teacher. This result was greatly hastened by another most singular coincidence. Scarcely had the work of the religious training of slaves been fairly undertaken, and its practicability determined, when the further influx of heathenism was prevented by the prohibition of the slave trade, and the task of overcoming their pagan superstitions and idolatrous customs was thus more easily accomplished.

But this does not yet complete the catalogue of good results accompanying the transportation of the population of Africa to this country. In addition to the blessings of Christianity secured to them, in connexion with slavery, their captivity among us seems to have been but a preparatory step toward the development of another of the results to be produced in permitting the cupidity of the Christian world to make merchandise of the sons of Africa; and that result is their being constituted a distinct people, a civilized, enlightened and powerful nation. The indications of this are unmistakeable. In the progress of intelligence among the Africans of the United States, that passion for equal rights and privileges which characterized those who laid the foundations of American Independence, was also infused into their breasts, animating them likewise with the love of liberty and the determination to secure to themselves and their children the blessings of free government. But being conscious of the secondary position which they must necessarily occupy in the social relations of this country; and in view also of the important fact, that the respect and esteem of the world could not be secured to the colored race short of the demonstration of their capacity for self-government; and knowing the impossibility of *testing that point* where such a preponderance of whites existed; and where, by the more rapid increase of the whites, by foreign immigration, the colored people must necessarily be ever constitute a very small minority, and their influence scarcely be felt, excepting as their votes would be in demand during party contests: in view of these and other considerations, after the most mature deliberation, a few colored men were led, thirty years ago, to accept the proposition of making a noble and daring effort for nationality in Africa itself, where eighty millions of their brethren might be civilized and incorporated with them, thus creating a government whose numerical strength would be four-fold that of the one they would leave.

The encouraging success which has crowned this enterprize of the colored people, is well known, and proves as fully that it is of God, as that our own happy Republic was planted by the right hand of the Almighty, as a model to the world of the power of a free Christianity to promote human happiness. The Republic of Liberia, now numbering within its limits one hundred thousand souls, is but a transplantment to Africa of American civilization, American views of the rights of man, and American principles in relation to the freedom of religion. These principles are already beginning to produce their ameliorating effects in Africa, and their power to elevate and ennoble mankind are becoming more and more manifest every day. It is a fact, now acknowledged in Europe and America, that the moral influence already exerted by Liberia, has done more for the cause of humanity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and in the abolition of slavery and the other evils afflicting Africa, than has been accomplished by the combined efforts of the civilized world.

We have now traced the prominent results following the enslavement of the Africans in the United States, until we have seen the tide of emigration begin to flow back from our shores to Africa, bearing her children to her again, not as received from her, with minds darkened by heathenish superstitions, but, many of them, enlightened and christianized men, able to bless her and redeem her. The plan of our investigations leads us to follow the other lines of dispersion of the population of Africa; to ascertain the results in other countries, with the view of determining the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

We shall turn first to the British West Indies, and as Jamaica is the most prominent of these islands, and will best serve as a type of the whole, our inquiries will be chiefly confined to it. We have obtained our facts, principally, from the recently written history of Jamaica, by the Rev. J. M. Phillippo, for twenty years a Baptist missionary in that island.

The Island of Jamaica, discovered in 1494, was settled by a colony of Spaniards in 1509, who, by their oppressions and savage cruelties, in less than fifty years, wholly exterminated the native population, originally numbering from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand. African slaves seem to have been introduced at an early day as substitutes for the natives, and up to 1655, when the English, then at war with Spain, took possession of the island, forty thousand slaves had been imported by the Spaniards, only fifteen hundred of whom were then surviving. Jamaica, by this change of masters, was not much improved in its social and moral condition, which, under the one hundred and forty-six years of Spanish rule, had been deplorable. It now became the rendezvous of buccaneers and piratical crusaders, a desperate band of men from all the maritime powers of Europe, who continued to perpetrate almost every degree of wickedness, both on sea and land, until 1670, when peace was made with Spain, and a more vigorous administration of law attempted. Twenty-six years after England conquered the island, 1696, up to which period the importation of slaves was still continued, the whites numbered fifteen



thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, and the slaves nine thousand five hundred. At the end of an additional forty-six years, 1742, during nearly the whole of which time the monopoly of the slave trade was held by England, the whites numbered fourteen thousand, and the slaves one hundred thousand. The annual importation of slaves into Jamaica now reached sixteen thousand, so that, at the end of another twenty-eight years, they numbered two hundred thousand, while the whites had scarcely increased two thousand. These numbers show, that from 1742 till 1770, a period of twenty-eight years, the number of slaves who sunk under the lash of the Jamaica task-master, must have been two hundred and forty-eight thousand, or almost nine thousand annually. The whole number of slaves imported by the English, up to 1808, when the slave trade was forbidden by Parliament, was eight hundred and fifty thousand, to which must be added the forty thousand imported by the Spaniards, making the total number of the population of Africa, transported to Jamaica, amount to eight hundred and ninety thousand men. And yet, the startling truth must be told, that when the census of the slave population of this island was ordered by government, in 1835, under the emancipation act, instead of an increase on the numbers imported, they amounted to only three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and ninety-two.

It will be an easy task for any person of ordinary intelligence, to picture to himself the state of morals and the social condition of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, during the several periods of its history to which we have referred; and what must have been the reflex influence of such a population upon the poor ignorant savages from Africa. To say that the moral character of the whites of Jamaica was the extreme reverse of that of the early settlers of the United States, would, perhaps, be strictly true. On this point, however, we shall not dwell. Our object is to see what were the results to the Africans introduced into that island, that their progress, intellectually and morally, may be contrasted with that of the colored population of the United States, that we may learn their qualifications to give to Africa a Christian civilization.

On this point we are not left to conjecture. The Rev. Mr. Philippo is very full upon the subject of their social and moral condition, and the facts stated by him in his history, before referred to, are confirmed by the missionary history of the island. He represents the slaves as having retained, in full practice, all the gross and debasing superstitions which were capable of being transferred from Africa, and that "upward of one hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British crown, scarcely an effort had been made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an act was passed by the local legislature, directing that all slave owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptised, 'when fit for it,' it is evident, from the very terms in which the act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterward proved, a dead letter—a mere political maneuver, intended to prevent the parent state from interfering in the management of the slaves."



From this time to 1770, a period of seventy-four years, the question of slave instruction lay dead in Jamaica, when Parliament put certain questions to Mr. Wedderburn as to the actual state of the religious instruction of slaves in the Island. He replied, "There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no religious instruction." The same testimony was borne at the same time by Mr. Fuller, Agent of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, "What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves," answered, "We know of none such in Jamaica."

The Rev. Dr. Coke, who was sent out on a missionary exploration in 1787, says, "When I first landed in Jamaica, the form of Godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world. The language of the Apostle seems strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity: "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulcher; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known."

In 1796, Mr. Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, in his place in the House of Commons, when speaking of sending missionaries to a certain point in Jamaica, said, "I speak from my own knowledge when I say, that they are cannibals, and that instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him."

But this must complete our testimony of the effects of slavery upon its subjects in Jamaica. Mr. Philipppo shows very conclusively, that the colored population of Jamaica, up to a very recent period, were elevated scarcely a jot above the natives of Africa. They had brought with them from Africa nearly all its gross and debasing superstitions, and all its social moral evils, making their new homes in Jamaica almost a *fac-simile* of those from which they had been torn in Africa.

One additional fact, however, must not be overlooked; and that is, that this fearful moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, and their total destitution of all the means of *religious instruction*, did not render them peaceful and contented, and secure the safety of their masters. This is abundantly proved in the fact, that during the period in which the Island was held by England, nearly thirty insurrections of the slaves took place. This fact, when contrasted with the comparatively few attempts at insurrection which have taken place in the United States, where religious instruction among the slaves has been common, should teach the slaveholder, that the perpetuation of the ignorance and degradation of the slaves, is no safeguard against servile insurrections, but that the teachings of Christianity, while it opens up the way of eternal life to the slave, and prepares him to take upon himself the duties of a freeman, do not necessarily endanger the safety of the master.

We have already stated the fact, that *commerce* is incapable of civilizing savage men. In the history of Jamaica, we have still more positive evidence that *slavery* is equally powerless in the promotion of civilization, and that it can only be considered as a link in the chain of events which may bring savage tribes into the midst of a civilized people, but that the civilization of savages, under such circumstances, is no more a necessary result of slavery, than it is of their imprisonment in the slave ship that transported them across the ocean, or the manacles that bound them during the voyage. Let us look at the facts. The English conquered the Island in 1665. The last testimony on the subject of the want of religious instruction for the slaves, dates in 1796. The Island, therefore, had been under British rule for a period of one hundred and forty years. If, then, slavery could elevate, and improve, and civilize its victims, surely there was time enough for it to have produced these fruits in the one hundred and forty years of British rule in Jamaica. But no such fruits had been borne. The slaves were still savage. Now, to these one hundred and forty years must be added at least twenty more of British rule, because missionary operations, introducing the Gospel, were not actively commenced until twenty years after this period. But if longer time is claimed, then add the one hundred and forty-six years during which the Island was under the Spaniards, to the one hundred and sixty under the British, and we have three hundred years of absolute slavery in Jamaica, and yet the slaves made no advancement in the scale of moral being beyond the condition in which they had been originally found in Africa. The results of African slavery in Jamaica, at the end of these three hundred years, is thus graphically described by Mr. Phillippo, "It may be emphatically said, that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the Island groaned."

This particular reference has been made to this point, because of the fact, that many have a vague, indefinite, ill-defined notion, that the great good which has resulted to the slaves of the United States, in connection with slavery, is a *fruit of slavery*. And should it still be claimed, that the moral elevation attained by the African race in the United States, is a necessary fruit of slavery, with equal propriety it can be urged, that the moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, for the three hundred years preceding the beginning of the present century, was also due to slavery. Both these propositions cannot be true. The fact is, that they are untrue in both cases. That the intellectual and moral elevation of the slaves of the United States is not due to slavery, is amply proved by the fact, that *the least advancement has been made by them where slavery exists in its greatest strength, and where the Christian teacher has been the most carefully shut out from them*. And so far as Jamaica is concerned, it is true, beyond all doubt, that its slavery did not degrade its African population into savages. It found them savages, but was wholly powerless for their moral elevation, as long as the only

influences exerted over them were from a white population destitute of a Christian morality.

But if slavery, of itself, be powerless in the moral elevation of its subjects, it does not necessarily *prevent* all moral improvement. The truth of this proposition is fully sustained by the results in both the United States and Jamaica. It is further proved by the effects following the introduction of Christianity into all the British West India Islands. The work of missions in Jamaica, as well as in the other Islands, met with the most rancorous opposition from the planters, who viewed the religious instruction of the slaves as "incompatible with the existence of slavery." The mission work, though begun in Jamaica, by the Baptists, in 1813, and by the Methodists, under Dr. Coke, in 1789, and again in 1815—made but little progress, being resolutely opposed, until about 1820. In 1824, the Moravians, who had commenced in 1754, had four stations and four missionaries; the Wesleyan Methodists eight stations and eight missionaries; and the Baptists five stations and five missionaries.

Here then, are the dates of the commencement of regular religious instruction in Jamaica. Though overawed by the mother country, the planters still manifested bitter hostility to the religious instruction of the slaves, and in 1832, on a partial insurrection of the Blacks, their wrath overflowing all bounds, they destroyed fourteen chapels, with private houses and other property, belonging to the Baptists, amounting in value to \$115,250, and six chapels, belonging to the Methodists, and property worth \$30,000. Every species of cruelty and insult were inflicted upon the missionaries. The emancipation act of the next year, 1833, for ever put it out of the power of the planters to repeat such acts of injustice and violence, and the missionary work, uninterrupted, has been eminently successful. In 1842, says the Rev. Mr. Phillippo, the whole number of converts in Jamaica was one hundred thousand, out of a population of near half a million; the number of regular places of worship were two hundred and twenty-six, and the out stations swelling them to three hundred; while the number of missionaries were over one hundred and seventy, with nearly an equal number of native assistants. Thus stood the question of the religious instruction of the African population of the Island in 1842. Superstitions and immoralities were fast disappearing under the influence of the gospel, and the marriage relation was respected. But the fewness of the missionaries and teachers, in proportion to the population, rendering it impracticable to bring all under a course of instruction, makes the progress slower than is desirable, and leaves many portions of the Island still sunk in ignorance.

Previous to the year 1823, there were not more than one or two schools for the colored people on the whole Island. In 1824, the whole number of missionaries was seventeen, in a slave population of three hundred and eleven thousand, and a free colored population of forty thousand. Here, then, were the educational agencies of Jamaica, twenty-five years ago—not over nineteen missionaries and teachers to a population of three hundred and fifty-one thousand souls, or only one to each eighteen thousand four hundred,

In this brief outline of the history of Jamaica, ample evidence is furnished to show that slavery is powerless for good to its victims. It also proves, that a free Christianity can transform, and elevate, and civilize, even slaves. But, as a barbarous people cannot make much progress in a single generation, Jamaica, at present, can supply little aid in the bestowment of a Christian civilization upon Africa. In relation to Cuba, the tale is soon told. According to McQueen, its slave population, some years ago, was four hundred and twenty-five thousand, of whom one hundred and fifty thousand were females, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand were males. This disproportion of the sexes will sufficiently indicate the social evils growing out of such a condition of things. Since that period, the slave trade has received a great stimulus, by the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar, and the continued importation of slaves into Cuba, gives her at present six hundred thousand. She has also one hundred thousand free colored persons, and six hundred and ten thousand whites.

A report read before the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1843, represents the plantation slaves of Cuba as never receiving the least moral or religious instruction. "Most of them are baptized, because the curate's certificate of baptism serves as a title deed in the civil courts of the Island. They live, in general, in a state of concubinage. They have not the most distant idea of Christianity. The annual decrease by deaths over births is, among the plantation slaves, from ten to twelve per cent., and among the others from four to six per cent. The births exceed the deaths among the free colored population, from five to six per cent. The hours of labor were from four, A. M. until ten, P. M., including eighteen hours of the twenty-four, with an allowance of an hour for dinner."

An extract of a letter from an eyewitness in Cuba, which was addressed to Lord John Russell, and copied into Blackwood's Magazine, February, 1848, says, "It was crop time: the mills went round night and day. On every estate, (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact,) *every slave was worked under the whip, eighteen hours of the twenty-four*, and in the boiling-houses, from five to six, P. M., and from eleven o'clock till midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed it was necessary, to keep the overtaxed wretches awake. The six hours which they rested, they spent locked in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex. While at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds. There was no marrying among the plantation slaves. On many estates females were entirely excluded. It was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to raise slaves." \* \* \* \* \* "Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination."

But a sense of propriety forbids that we should complete the quotation. Enough, truly, is given to show that the social and moral



condition of the slaves in Cuba is most deplorable. Nor have any ameliorating agencies been introduced to work a change. In a careful inspection of the operations of English and American missionary societies, we cannot find that any missionaries of a free Christianity have gained a foothold in Cuba. The exclusiveness of the established religion of Spain, which forbids freedom of religion, has, no doubt, been extended to her colony, and the poor African still toils beneath the lash of his merciless taskmaster, unconscious of his accountability to God, and of the offer of salvation through faith in the Saviour.

After this picture of the results accompanying the enslavement of the Africans in Cuba, no one will look to that island for aid in the civilization of Africa, until the self-denying missionaries of a free Christianity, are permitted to labor therein, for the instruction and salvation of the poor slave.

The slaves transported from Africa to Brazil have been subjected to influences as unfavorable to intellectual and moral improvement as those taken to any other country. Unfortunately for Brazil, a free Christianity was not secured to its early settlers from Europe, and the consequences have been deplorable. In accordance with the views and policy of the times, the most rigid and extreme measures were adopted to preserve unity of faith. Two ministers and fourteen students, sent out to Brazil by the Protestant Church of Geneva, were prevented, by the sanguinary fanaticism of the adherents of the established religion, from introducing a Bible Christianity. The leading men of the party of Huguenots, who fled to Brazil in 1555, from persecution in France, were thrown into prison, and after eight years' confinement, John Boles, the most prominent of the prisoners, was martyred, at Rio de Janeiro, "for the sake of terrifying his countrymen, if any of them should be lurking in those parts." The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a few years since, attempted to enter into Brazil as a missionary field, but the effort, proving unsuccessful, has been abandoned.

Without the Bible as a moral instructor of youth, and without the presence of the advocates of a free Christianity, *as rivals to stimulate and liberalize the state religion*, it is not a matter of wonder that the Brazilians should have sunk in the scale of moral being. The rising generations, coming more or less under the influence of the native heathenism, could not attain as high a standard of intelligence and morals as those which had preceded them. It was to be expected, therefore, that the costly church edifices, erected by the pious zeal and profuse liberality of the early Portuguese emigrants, should often be perverted from the use to which they were originally consecrated; and, as is asserted in KIDDER'S BRAZIL, that the preaching of the gospel should not be known among the weekly services of the church; and, also, as is declared by SOUTHEY, that its practices should be those of polytheism and idolatry.

Details of the social and moral condition of the Brazilians is uncalled for on such an occasion as this. But, as connected with our investigations, we must be permitted to say, that such were the evil



tendencies of the religious system of Brazil, that, in 1843, the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, addressed the Imperial Legislature as follows :

"The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishops and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified :

"The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Pará, there are parishes which, for twelve years and upward, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest ; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, and the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranhão, twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

"The bishop of St. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyabá, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as stated supplies, treat the bishop's efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

"In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

"It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those priests who die, or become incompetent through age and infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

"This is not the place to investigate the causes of such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt, a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits, is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the perquisites established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into payment of them, almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble."

After such a picture of the inefficiency of the established religion of Brazil, and such evidences of its decay and want of sufficient vital energy to preserve it from extinction, it will excite no surprise to find the government, in 1836, proposing to employ *Moravian missionaries* to catechise the Indians of the interior.

An American in Brazil, writing to the Boston Advocate from Rio, Sept., 1849, says: "Every one, on his first landing at Rio, will be forced to the conclusion that all classes indiscriminately mingle together; all appearing on terms of the utmost equality. If there be any distinction, it is perceptible only between freedom and slavery. There are many blacks here quite wealthy and respectable, who amalgamate with the white families, and are received on a footing of perfect equality. The mechanical arts are at least half a century behind those of our own. The churches, some fifty in number, are falling to decay, which gives to the city a look of dilapidation; few are still observant of its ceremonies; but little or no attention is paid to the Sabbath. The stores do business, and the workshops are open the same as on other days. A few may be seen going to worship on the Sabbath, but a greater number resort to billiard tables in the afternoon, and to theaters at night. The slave population is estimated at three times the number of that of the whites. *They are allowed to go almost naked, the upper part of the body of both male and female entirely so.*"

Amid this general dearth of religious interest among the Brazilians, it will of course be expected that the moral training of the poor slave has been totally neglected, and that he yet remains in all the darkness and degradation of African heathenism. Treated as a beast of burden, he can know but little more of his moral responsibility to God than the mule he drives.\*

We find no evidence, thus far, that will warrant our adopting any other agency than Christianity as a *primary* means of moral improvement for the African slave, or in the civilization of any barbarous people. Nor do we find any agency elsewhere than in the United States, upon which reliance can be placed for extending a Christian civilization to Africa.

"But," says one, "you have passed by an element of human progress, more certain in its operation than any you have named. Give the slave but *liberty*, and he will vindicate his humanity, and rise to an equality with his imperious oppressor. This language once seemed oracular, but time, which tests opinions and theories, has fully shown that there is no magic power in *liberty and equality*, any more than in *trade and commerce*, to originate civilization and produce a moral revolution among a savage or semi-barbarous people.

In proof of this proposition, it is only necessary, to our present

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\* The population of Brazil, at present, is as follows:

Slaves.....	3,000,000
Indians and Free Negroes.....	2,500,000
Whites.....	1,500,000

A large majority of the army, as well officers as privates, are of African descent.

purpose, to refer to Hayti, where, after enjoying liberty and equality for nearly half a century, the people have with apparent willingness submitted to despotism, and bid fair, if regenerating agencies from abroad are not introduced, to relapse into barbarism. Hayti, like Brazil and Cuba, having only a *fettered Christianity*, derived from France, made no provision for the instruction of the slaves. School houses for the people, *those earliest off-shoots of a free Christianity*, had not been provided by the French proprietors for their slaves. Hence, when the shackles of slavery were removed from the slaves of Hayti, by the act of the Constituent Assembly of France, *Intelligence* not prevailing, the *Industry* of the Island, formerly *compulsory*, was soon abandoned. Before emancipation, says Blackwood's Magazine, 1848, the exports from Hayti, of sugar alone, reached six hundred and seventy-two millions of pounds, and the consumption of French manufactures, in the island, reached \$49,450,000; but at present, she neither exports a single pound of sugar, nor imports a single article of manufactures.

In this result we have a startling confirmation of the truth of the proposition stated in our former lecture, when discussing the results of West India emancipation, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry*.

Nor has the Christian world neglected to offer to Hayti a free Christianity, that she too might be blest by its transforming power. The offer was made and rejected, and this day she is reaping the bitter consequences. In 1835, the American Baptist Missionary Society made an attempt to establish a mission in Hayti, which at first promised success, but was abandoned in 1837. When Mr. Phillippo visited that Island in 1842, about a dozen members, fruits of this mission, yet remained.

As early as 1816 the English Wesleyans commenced a mission in Hayti, but in 1819 the missionary had to leave on account of persecution from the adherents of the prevailing religion. The converts, left behind, faithful to the truth, endured a series of persecutions, bitter and relentless, only stopping short of actual martyrdom. In 1830, they numbered only ninety members, under the care of a native preacher ordained in England.

The missionaries found ignorance and immorality predominant at this period, and, in one or more instances, had evidence sufficient afforded to prove that idolatry was practised in Hayti.

Between 1820 and 1829, a brisk emigration from the United States to Hayti, was conducted, transferring, according to Benjamin Lundy, eight thousand free colored persons to that Island, the expenses of six thousand of whom being paid by the Haytien government. But this infusion of Republican leaven, though equaling in number the whole of the emigrants sent to Liberia, seems not to have wrought any wonders in the civilization of their brother Republicans. All have quietly sunk down together into despotism.

The present social and moral condition of Hayti may be inferred from the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Graves, one of the editors of the Christian Reflector, who recently visited the Island.

"The Sabbath is the great business day of the week to the middle and lower classes, while the rich employ it as a holiday. It is the day especially devoted to military parade and marketing. The public squares are crowded with buyers and sellers, and all the shops thronged with customers as on no other day of the week. The marriage relation is, for the most part, sustained without a marriage contract, and divorce and polygamy are too common to excite attention. The faithful husband of a wife is a character so rare as to be a marked exception to the general rule. \* \* \* \* In a word, the institutions of the Sabbath and of marriage, are alike prostrate. Both have a name; but the divine object of neither is secured, with a vast majority of the population. As a legitimate consequence, profaneness, intemperance, and vulgarity extensively characterize all classes of society."

The revolution in Hayti, which expelled Boyer from the Island, led to a correspondence having in view the introduction of missionaries from the United States. One of the letters from a prominent citizen of Jeremie, 1843, says, "You have exactly hit on the essential points in recommending the establishment of individual families by marriages, to serve as a basis of the great social family, the establishment of institutions for the diffusion of moral and religious instruction," &c.

The inference to be drawn from this letter is, that in 1843, as in 1849, the marriage relation was not established and respected in Hayti.

Here, then, in Hayti, we have the proof that *liberty and equality*, enjoyed socially and politically, to its fullest extent, are also powerless in the promotion of civilization. Even its newly made emperor, we are told, still practises some heathenish rites allied to the *devil-worship* of Africa. We shall not go to despotic Hayti for agents to help to build up Republican Liberia.

But shall we go to Mexico for aid in the civilization of Africa? A part of the population, torn by the slave trade from Africa, was taken to Mexico. As our plan contemplates the tracing of the various lines of dispersion, so as to inquire into the results, a glance at Mexico will be appropriate, especially as we have in that government still a different phase of the movement exhibited to us for our instruction.

The character of the earlier Spanish adventurers and colonists in Mexico, and the means by which they subdued and enslaved the natives, is too familiar to all to need a notice at present. From a statement in Jay's Review of the Mexican War, we learn that the population of Mexico stands as follows:

Indians, . . .	4,000,000
Whites, . . .	1,000,000
Negroes, . . .	6,000
Mixed breeds, . .	2,009,509 = 7,015,509.

Judge Jay, it must be remembered, is a warm abolitionist, and of course not disposed to asperse the character of the descendants of Africa anywhere. By this statement it will be perceived, that



one important object has been gained in Mexico, and which, in the opinion of many, constitutes the sole barrier to the colored man's elevation in the United States. We refer to *prejudice against color*. In Mexico it seems to have had no existence, but that, on the contrary, *amalgamation*, on an extended scale, has been practised, producing a population of *mixed breeds*, amounting to more than two millions of souls, out of seven millions, and reducing the pure negro stock, imported from Africa, to the meager number of six thousand. But this was not the only point gained for the African in Mexico. In due time, *liberty and equality* were also bestowed. Mexico, in 1813, threw off the yoke of Spain, and declared herself a Republic. But the attempt of Iturbide, to restore a despotism, raising up a race of military chieftains for his overthrow, afterward produced a struggle for power, resulting, in 1824, in the prohibition of the slave trade, and the adoption of a constitution declaring *free* all born after that date. Pedraza being elected President, Santa Anna at the head of the military, interposed, and placed in the presidential chair the defeated candidate, Guerrero, who, to strengthen himself, and the better to resist an invasion from Spain, then in process of execution, issued a decree, September, 1829, emancipating all the slaves. Thus was liberty and equality at once secured to the slaves of Mexico.

But Mexico, under Spain, had a *fettered Christianity*, transplanted to her soil, which is still retained, and she has carefully excluded from her limits a free Christianity, *with its schoolhouses and Bibles for the people*. The third article of her constitution of 1824, declares, that, "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will be perpetually, the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibit the exercise of any other whatever." It is true, that when Bustamente, who deposed Guerrero, was overturned in 1833, by Santa Anna, this general attempted to pursue a liberal course of policy, and abolished ecclesiastical tithes, monastic vows, and the authority of the Pope; and took the education of youth out of the hands of the priests, appointing the professors in the five free colleges which he established, without regard to country or religious faith. But this effort to liberalize the religion of Mexico proved an abortion, the President, after putting down several revolts, being forced to readopt the old system as the established faith of Mexico.

Now let us see what has been gained for the Africans who were taken to Mexico. First, the abolition of *prejudice* and the adoption of *amalgamation*; and second, *emancipation with liberty and equality, including the right of suffrage*. Here, then, in the opinion of many, is a vast gain for the African, above what he has had granted to him elsewhere; because, though, in Hayti, he had liberty and equality, yet *all being African together*, there was not the *honor* conferred which was secured in Mexico, by making him the equal to the descendants of the proud Castilians who had conquered Montezuma. Now for the results of these favoring circumstances. But, happily for us, Judge Jay has drawn the picture of Mexico, for 1846, to the life.

"The Republic of Mexico had long been the prey of military

chieftains, who, in their struggles for power, and the perpetual revolutions they had excited, had exhausted the resources of the country. Without money, without credit, without a single frigate, without commerce, without union, and with a feeble population of seven or eight millions, composed chiefly of Indians and mixed breeds, scattered over immense regions, and for the most part sunk in ignorance, and sloth, Mexico was certainly not a very formidable enemy to the United States." In addition, the Judge states, that the exports from Mexico, in 1842, were, exclusive of gold and silver, \$1,500,000, or a little over forty-nine and a half cents per head to her population, excluding the Indians. To those who are curious in seeking for contrasts, it may be interesting to them to know, that the export commerce of Liberia is about \$100 per head for each emigrant residing in the Republic.

Here, now, are the results of the movements in Mexico. She adopted a Republican form of government, denounced the foreign slave trade, and emancipated her slaves, placing the whole population in a condition of social and political equality. But in thus obeying the dictates of one of the fundamental principles of the North American confederacy, which declares the *natural equality of mankind*, she overlooked the other still more important one, *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*. This fatal error, the source of all her misfortunes, was the result of another oversight which Mexico committed in the outset of her career. In casting off the shackles of political despotism, she retained the *fettered form of Christianity* which had been adopted to give security to crowned heads, and which is so antagonistic to the spirit of republican institutions. This system, where not stimulated by the rivalry, of a free Christianity, makes no provision for general education. The Republican leaders, therefore, who wished to advance the general intelligence of the people, could not accomplish the task, nor take the educational interests out of the hands of those who had previously possessed their control. The ignorance of the masses being thus perpetuated, the severing of the ties binding the slave to the master left the freed man, in consequence of his ignorance, a constant prey to the intrigues of military chieftains. The right of suffrage was thus rendered almost utterly valueless in Mexico, because the decisions of the ballot-box were repeatedly set aside, and the power of the sword interposed to give to the nation its rulers. How far emancipation in Mexico may have arrested the prosperity of the nation, and tended to destroy its internal peace, rendering property and life insecure, by letting loose a large number of semibarbarous and savage men from the restraints of slavery, to be controlled at will by ambitious chieftains, we shall not wait to inquire. Our concern is with the effects produced upon the Africans by their transfer to Mexico. Their history tells us, that liberty and equality in Mexico, have fallen far short in the production of the good to the slave which his wants require; *not that these privileges are valueless and ought to be withheld, but because that the intellectual and moral culture, which impart intelligence and moral integrity, were not included in the gift*

We have now completed the circuit of our investigations. The facts revealed in relation to the intensity of the wretchedness of the African race, not only in Africa itself, but in many of the countries to which they have been transported, are well calculated, at first view, to cause the philanthropic heart to shrink from making an effort to afford relief, because of the immensity of the obstacles to be overcome, before their deliverance can be accomplished. But, upon a closer view of the subject, it would seem that their dispersion to the different countries in which they have been enslaved, was permitted by Divine Providence, with the view of teaching the world some great lessons upon the subject of *the true elements of human progress*, and at the same time to make ample provision for the recovery of Africa from barbarism. Let us see.

Without at present recapitulating the facts upon which we base our opinions, or stating the arguments by which they may be supported, the investigations, just completed, afford much material to sustain the following conclusions :

- I. That a *Free Christianity*—revealing the individual responsibility of man to God, producing a pure morality, generating independence of thought, begetting a spirit of philanthropy, and teaching the natural equality of mankind—is the *primary* element of civilization and all useful human progress.
- II. That the *secondary* but essential elements of civilization and useful human progress, and which are included in and necessarily dependent, for their full development, upon the primary, are these :
  1. Liberty of conscience in the worship of God
  2. Both secular and religious education.
  3. Personal freedom.
  4. Social and political equality.
  5. The sacredness of the marriage relation, and the possession and control, by parents, of their offspring.
  6. The right of property in the fruits of industry.
  7. Time, for the operation and development of these elements.

From the possession of these rights and privileges, and their *constant exercise*, there necessarily is produced among men : First, The fear of God and just conceptions of moral responsibility. Second, An enlightenment of conscience, begetting moral integrity and a pure morality, thus securing confidence between man and man, and creating the basis of the safety of society. Third, A proper estimate of man's relations and responsibilities to his fellow-man. Fourth, Philanthropy, or the desire of the welfare of our neighbor. Fifth, The love of home and of offspring, leading to untiring efforts for their welfare. Sixth, Industry, to accumulate property for the individual's or the family's use. Seventh, Trade and commerce, to supply the artificial wants which advancing civilization creates.

The truth of these conclusions being admitted, it will follow, that just so far as the *primary* and *secondary* elements of civilization and useful human progress are possessed, or not possessed, in whole or in part, by a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, to the same

extent and in the same proportion may we expect them to advance or retrograde. And if we find that the progress or non-progress of the Africans, who form the subject of our inquiries, has been in the proportion in which they have enjoyed, or not enjoyed, all, or some, or none, of the blessings, rights, and privileges named, then we have evidence to establish the truth of the proposition, that the catalogue given, constitutes the elements of civilization. And further, it being thus proved, that a free Christianity necessarily begets intelligence and moral integrity, and therefore tends to restore man to his original state of knowledge and uprightness; and as such a moral condition necessarily secures the welfare of society, it follows, that our proposition, heretofore stated, is true, viz: *that Christianity, uncorrupted, is capable of restoring to man his lost happiness.* Now let us see how far our conclusions are sustained by the facts brought out in our investigations.

In the United States, where the *primary* element, a free Christianity, had its birth, the commencement of the slave's elevation is of equal date with his touching the shore. But as the *secondary* elements of progress have been mostly denied to the slave, and the primary often enjoyed but imperfectly, his advancement has been impeded, and his progress falls short of what it would have been, had his privileges been more extended, so as to include more of the elements of civilization. This view is fully sustained by the fact, that the greater advancement made by the *free colored man* over the *slave*, in the United States, is about in the proportion of the extent of the additional privileges which he has enjoyed.

In Jamaica, which, for three hundred years, was emphatically *without religion*, and where, during that time, neither the primary nor a single one of the secondary elements of civilization were in the possession of the slaves, no progress was made by them until a free Christianity was introduced and their religious education commenced. Nor was the progress rapid until the emancipation act, of 1833, put them in possession of an increased number of the elements of civilization. As they still lack an essential element, social and political equality, and as secular and religious education is not supplied to the extent of the wants of the population, retarding causes exist in Jamaica, which will prevent that high intellectual and moral development that should be secured to the African.

In Cuba and Brazil, it does not appear that the slaves possess either the primary or secondary elements of civilization, and, consequently, the first step in human progress remains to be taken. Unlike Jamaica, which was without religion, Cuba and Brazil had a fettered Christianity, but sunk so low as to have lost what little vitality it once possessed, and consequently, in these countries no one has cared for the soul of the slave, but he is still left to toil on in mental and moral night, and in anguish and in woe, until a premature death kindly wrests him from the oppressor's grasp.

In Hayti, one fact presents itself, of peculiar importance in proof of our proposition, that a free Christianity is the *primary* element of civilization. The primary element alone existed among the slaves



of the United States, and all the secondary, except liberty of conscience, and religious education, were wanting; yet progress was made, and an approximation to civilization attained. But in Hayti, for nearly half a century, *all the secondary elements of progress*, excepting liberty of conscience and secular and religious education, were in possession of the people, but instead of progress under these advantages, there has been retrogression; and no other sufficient reason can be assigned for it, but that the primary element, a free Christianity, which alone can develop the moral powers of man and impart life and activity to the secondary elements, was wholly excluded from the island. Had Hayti, when she became republican, possessed the primary element of progress, she would have been dotted over with schoolhouses and churches; secular and religious education would have prevailed everywhere; the sacredness of the marriage relation would have been respected; the welfare of offspring promoted; *voluntary industry* adopted, and the energies of its inhabitants roused into action. Under these circumstances despotism could not have reëntered the island.

The facts in relation to the colored population of Mexico, are so strictly the same with those of Hayti, that we need not state them. Twenty years' possession of nearly all the secondary elements of civilization, but in complete destitution of the primary, has scarcely impelled them forward a step beyond their original barbarism. To the white population of Mexico, the results have been very similar to what has occurred in Brazil. In both countries, there is danger, it would seem, *from the natural tendencies of fallen human nature to barbarism*, that the civilization transplanted from Europe, in the absence of the primary element of progress, may greatly retrograde, in consequence of the overpowering influence of heathenism, by which it is surrounded. This remark will equally apply to nearly all the South American governments, which, on throwing off the European yoke of political despotism, and giving freedom to the slave, made no provision for public education, either secular or religious.

But this examination of the different results that have grown out of the various degrees, in which the African has been brought under the influence of the elements of civilization, in the countries where he has been enslaved, may now be closed. Facts enough are given, certainly, to teach us important lessons in relation to the elements of useful human progress—facts enough to show that Christianity is the primary element of civilization; not Christianity, as fettered and made an engine of despotic sway over mankind, holding them in ignorance of their rights and obligations; but a free Christianity, based upon the Bible, demanding for men, equal rights and liberty of conscience, and teaching them that respect for the rights of others, and that moral integrity which gives security to governments, based upon law—facts enough, too, to prove, that unless all the elements of progress, *primary and secondary*, be enjoyed unrestrained, and in *full exercise*, by a people, there will exist impediments to their advancement—facts enough, further, to prove that it is dangerous to

withhold from men, the elements of *moral* progress, when conferring upon them those of social and political advancement—and facts enough, furthermore, to prove, that for a civilized community, or state, or nation, to admit a barbarous or semi-barbarous people into its bosom, or to retain them when forced upon it, without supplying to them the elements of intellectual and moral elevation, is to cherish an agent antagonistic to civilization, and which must react unfavorably upon itself, in retarding, if not preventing, its further prosperity.

Our investigations also show, that the African race is not in possession of all the elements of civilization in any of the countries to which they have been transported. A further investigation would show that there is no prospect, at present, of their ever attaining them in these countries. But as their possession and free exercise, is essential to the production of the highest mental and moral developments of which the race is susceptible, the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, becomes a matter of the highest importance, and most profound interest to the colored race.

In the Republic of Liberia, and in Liberia only, can the *colored man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. In the Republic of the United States, and in the United States only, can the *white man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. Here are two facts, not to be controverted. There exists at present, no European government, whose population possesses all these elements of progress. France has put herself in possession of the secondary, but is destitute of the primary. England may be said, in a good degree, to possess the primary, but withholds a part of the secondary from a large portion of her people. We repeat the assertion, therefore, that the Republic of the United States, is the only nation under the sun, where the *white man* can enjoy all the elements of useful human progress, and that the Republic of Liberia, is the only point, on the whole earth, where the *colored man* can enjoy them. And, further, we assert, that the United States is the only country, where the colored man has had the opportunity of *enjoying any part of these blessings, and of witnessing the workings of the whole, and of comprehending their nature, and learning their value.*

And now we are prepared also to assert, that the United States, only, of all the governments of the earth, *possesses the necessary agents, in the persons of intelligent and industrious colored men, to recover Africa from barbarism, and to bestow upon that benighted land, as we are now doing in Liberia, all the elements necessary to the production of the highest degree of civilization, and of thus securing to her, the greatest amount of prosperity, and of happiness.*

Here, then, are the results of bringing together, on the soil of the United States, the highest developments of Christian intelligence and integrity, and the lowest form of pagan ignorance and depravity. Here are the results of the experiment which, seemingly, was to test

the capability of a free Christianity to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined—proving the unity and natural equality of the human race. Here is ample testimony, to prove the sufficiency of a pure Christianity, to restore to man his lost happiness. And here, now, is unfolded to view, the solution of the great question involved in all our investigations, *the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.*

The people of Liberia are themselves a standing wonder to the world. The greater part of them were slaves, until the hour they left our shores, and of all men in the world, would have been pronounced, and were pronounced, the least able to accomplish the work they were sent to perform. But the elements of progress were borne along with them. The missionaries of a free Christianity offered themselves as a willing sacrifice, from year to year, to plant the elements of civilization in Africa, that there, amid moral darkness and degradation, the evidence might be furnished, that the religion of their Lord and Master was divine; and able, not only, to secure eternal life to the soul of the believer, but to redeem the world from oppression and woe.

Europe stands astonished at the mighty progress of the United States, in all that is ennobling and great. Its people imitate our example, and aim at our results, without understanding the secret of our success, and therefore fail. They seem to be wholly incapable of comprehending the nature of our free institutions. Liberty, under the restraints of law, is an enigma they cannot solve. Thus far, we have stood alone, as a monument of the power of Republican Institutions, to advance the welfare of man. And, indeed, such seemed to be our unique position, that we were ready to boast that only the Anglo-Saxon could be safely free. But now Liberia, as if to rebuke us for our pride, stands forward, and begins to loom up as another monument of the power of free institutions. He that was once a poor slave, and cowered beneath the voice of the white man, now stands erect in Liberia, like his own native palm tree, nor bows in meek submission but to the voice of the Eternal.

The citizens of Liberia are beginning to realize the relations and responsibilities of their new position, and call loudly for help to execute the high destiny to which they are called. Said the Rev. Mr. Paine, of Liberia, when on a visit to New York, with President Roberts, 1848: "Nearly every one of the officers, from the least even to the greatest, are communicants in some evangelical church, and adorn their life by a holy walk and conversation. You do not find them on the Sabbath day, strolling about the streets, and seeking for pleasure, as I have seen your people in this country, but they are found in the school and sanctuary. As an evidence of their being a strictly moral and religious people, he would state, that out of eleven members in the House of Representatives, and six in the Senate, seventeen in all, only one was not a professor of religion. Intelligent Liberians," continued Mr. Paine, "are impressed with the conviction, that the Supreme Disposer of events, has called them to a

high mission; that they have transferred Plymouth to Africa, and that civilization, republicanism, and Christianity, are to proceed from them over a vast continent that lies in the shadow of death. They are nerving themselves to the fulfillment of such a destiny. They have grasped the great idea, and have incorporated it with the foundations of the Republic."

The following important letter, from the Rev. J. P. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, was not received in time for insertion in the proper place :

DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.

*Dear Brother*—Your interesting letter of the 16th ult., lingered, and then my absence for a few days, to attend a meeting at Annapolis, delayed a reply until it is probably too late to do you a service. In Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, entitled "Missions in Africa," there is a note with some interesting facts relative to cannibalism.

I never saw men eating human flesh, but have heard of its being done in the vicinity of Liberia.

The letters of Sion Harris and Rev. G. Brown, who were attacked at the mission of the M. E. Church, at Heddington, in 1840, by Gotorah, the famous Condo warrior, (he had threatened to eat the missionary), state that the dried limbs of men slain previously were thrown away in their flight.

This same warrior visited Gov. Buchanan, in 1839, to treat for a peace, and while there gave, in public council, as an objection to making peace, that he would have nobody to eat.

In 1835, while I was agent of the Colonization Society, I sent two Methodist ministers, who were men of high standing, each having before been elected to the office of Vice Governor of the Colony, as commissioners to negotiate a peace between the Veys and Condoes. While they were at Bo-poro, the chief town of the Condo nation, they stated that human flesh was offered in the market for food.

In 1833, I made a tour sixty or seventy miles, to a king north-east of the Bassa Cove Colony. My purpose was to proceed several hundred miles, but the king resolutely refused leave, and no bribe or importunity prevailed to change his decision. The reason assigned was, that as I came with letters from the Governor, the King was responsible for my safety, and the neighboring tribe, Pessa men, would kill and eat me.

The missionaries from England to Coomassie, capital of Ashantee, stated in their published journal, in 1841, that they saw men returning from the market with human limbs for food.

Of the Gallinas, I know nothing from actual observation. I imagine that Cape Mount would furnish you as good a point for a settlement. By occupying Gallinas, you would more surely exterminate the greatest slave mart in western Africa.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. B. PINNEY.

New York, March 2, 1850.



## PART THIRD.

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OUR readers will observe that we have presented the leading incidents connected with the enslavement of the African race, and pointed out the great advantages secured to them in the United States, over those afforded in any other country. The facts presented therein also show, that the work of Africa's redemption from barbarism has been encouragingly commenced by our Colonization scheme. It is natural, therefore, that we should cast about to see whether the impelling forces, tending to promote and perfect this great work, possess sufficient power to insure its success. For it must be confessed, that, in view of the vastness of the work to be accomplished—including the secular and religious education of perhaps more than one hundred and sixty millions of savage men—if no more numerous agencies can be brought to the execution of the task, than the noble little band of Liberians, hope would almost sicken and die, in contemplating the length of time that must elapse before civilization and the gospel can be made to reach the whole population of Africa.

In tracing the causes now in operation, which must rapidly propel the work of Africa's civilization, we find that the facts may be brought most forcibly to view, by contrasting the present relations of Free Labor to Slave Labor, in the cultivation of those tropical and semi-tropical products, upon which slave labor has been and is now chiefly employed.

We may be told—indeed we have already been warned by a friend, to whom the statistics have been shown—that by arraying such facts, before the public, as we have collated, we shall greatly strengthen slavery. But we must beg leave to say, that we apprehend no such results. *The facts are such as the friends of African freedom, every where, should know, to enable them to adopt some practical and efficient remedy for the evils of the slave trade and slavery.* It is not necessary to publish the fact to the slaveholder of Cuba and Brazil, that free labor, in the English and French West Indies, has

failed to supply to commerce an amount of tropical commodities equal to what had been furnished by slave labor before emancipation. They already know this fact. Slaveholders, whether engaged in the production of cotton, sugar, or coffee, have known it, and profited by it. The *slave trader*, also, has known the result of West India emancipation, and has quadrupled his business and his profits by possessing that knowledge. And shall the *Philanthropist*, alone, be debarred from knowing truths of such moment?

The facts which we shall present may be unwelcome to some, yet they cannot be controverted. They may detract somewhat from the honors claimed by many who boast of their success in checking the progress of slavery, and may prove that they were more benevolent than wise, but it cannot be avoided. The day has come for decisive action upon the subject of the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa. All schemes hitherto adopted have signally failed. The wisest statesmen have been baffled and defeated in their attempts. It is time, therefore, that a review of the actions of the past should be taken, and the results spread out before the public. In the execution of this task, if faithfully performed, it is believed that there may be found some common ground upon which all the friends of Africa and of humanity may cordially coöperate.

The evidence which we have been enabled to collect upon this subject, is all from undoubted authorities, and we believe will clearly establish the following propositions:

- I. That Free Labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, is failing to furnish to the markets of the world, in any thing like adequate quantities, those commodities upon which slave labor is chiefly employed.
- II. That the governments of England, France, and the United States, at the present moment, are compelled, from necessity, to consume slave labor products, to a large extent, and thus still continue to be the principal agents which aid in extending and perpetuating slavery and the slave trade.
- III. That the legislative measures adopted for the destruction of the slave trade and slavery, especially by England, have tended to increase and extend the systems they were designed to destroy.
- IV. That the governments named, cannot hope to escape from the necessity of consuming the products of slave labor, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.
- V. That Africa is the principal field where free labor can be made to compete, successfully, with slave labor, in the production of *exportable* tropical commodities.

VI. That there are moral forces and commercial considerations now in operation, which will, necessarily, impel Christian governments to exert their influence for the civilization of Africa, and the promotion of the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia, as the principal agency in this great work; and that in these facts lies our encouragement to persevere in our Colonization efforts.

VII. That all these agencies and influences being brought to bear upon the civilization of Africa, from the nature of its soil, climate, products, and population, we are forced to believe that a mighty people will ultimately rise upon that continent, taking rank with the most powerful nations of the earth, and vindicate the character of the African race before the world.

Not the least interesting result, growing out of the investigations upon which we are entering, when taken in connection with those of our two preceding lectures, is the conviction that has been produced in our own mind, and which we believe will be made upon all, that England and the United States, the two governments at present most capable of exerting the greatest moral influence over Africa, and of calling into activity her latent but giant energies, are at this moment involved in positions of so much embarrassment, in consequence of their having been connected with the slave trade and slavery, that they cannot extricate themselves, but by the civilization of Africa.

France, also, in the case of her former colony of Hayti, has had poured out to her a portion of the cup of bitterness, which, it seems, must be pressed to the lips of all the nations who have participated in oppressing Africa. By her late act of emancipation, in her remaining tropical colonies, France has still farther embarrassed herself, and, like England and the United States, must soon be compelled either to supply herself almost exclusively with slave-grown cotton, and other tropical products, or lend her aid in promoting free labor cultivation in tropical Africa.

In this remarkable condition of things, we are reminded of the great truth, that God presides among the nations, and overrules their actions to promote his own purposes of *judgment* and of *mercy* to mankind, and that governments, like individuals, are hindered in their designs here and have free progress there, only so far as corresponds with his great scheme of displaying his hatred of sin, vindicating his justice, and of manifesting his love to a fallen world, and his determination to redeem it to himself.

A brief review of some of the leading events, relating to the action of the nations of Europe, in their connection with the slave trade and slavery, will bring us to the statement of the facts upon which we base our propositions.

The records of history put it beyond all question, that the rapid rise of Great Britain, during the 18th century, which secured to her the superiority over other nations in naval power, in commerce, and ultimately in manufactures, was due, principally, to her having

acquired by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the monopoly of the slave trade. The traffic in slaves being, by this treaty, placed under the control of England, her rivals were deprived of the means of supplying slaves to their tropical possessions, excepting through her merchants, while she could add to her colonies any number required by the planters. And when we call to mind the fact, that the average period of life of the imported African slave, as a profitable laborer in the West India colonies, is not over seven years, it will be seen that this treaty most effectually crippled the rivals of England, and of necessity gave to her, as is the boast of McQueen, the principal monopoly of the markets of the world for her West India tropical products. And, indeed, so seriously were the other powers affected by this measure, that in 1739, Spain paid to Great Britain a half million of dollars to secure a release of her monopoly for the remaining four years to which it extended; and thus the nations of Europe once more became equal participants in this unholy commerce.

A true idea of the immense value of England's commercial interests, *which were based upon the slave trade and slavery*, may be learned from the fact, that in 1807, the export products of her West India possessions employed 250,000 tons of English shipping, and that these islands sustained a population which consumed annually \$17,500,000 worth of British manufactures.\* It was the possession of such resources as these, coupled with her East India acquisitions, that enabled England, whose navy at the opening of the 18th century was one thousand guns less than that of France, to increase it in one hundred years to near its present extent, and shortly after the beginning of the present century, to bid defiance to the combined opposition of the powers of Europe. But it must not be forgotten, that much of this wealth, securing to England such prosperity and such glory as she attained, was wrung from African sinews in her West India colonies.

But now begins the era when the power of Great Britain is to become arrayed on the side of African freedom. The year 1808 terminated the connection of both Great Britain and the United States with the slave trade. Whatever may be said of the motives prompting these governments to this act, it must be admitted, that a great work of philanthropy was accomplished. But its prohibition by these powers, unfortunately, left the monopoly of the traffic in slaves in the hands of Spain and Portugal, who prosecuted it with the greatest activity, and soon made the soil of Cuba and of Brazil to groan beneath the cultivation of those exportable tropical products which England had so successfully commenced, and so advantageously prosecuted. Being then in its infancy, the government of the United States could exert but little influence upon other nations, and, consequently, the control of this great question rested with England. It was a capital error in her policy, to neglect securing an abandonment of the slave trade by the other European governments. Their

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\* Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 5.



success in rivaling her in tropical cultivation, together with the subsequent legislative errors of Great Britain, and the consequent destruction of the prosperity of her West India colonies, has been fully discussed in our first lecture. Since its publication, however, many additional facts have been ascertained, and many new developments have been made, in connection with English and French West India emancipation, which enable us to understand more clearly its workings, and to foresee more certainly the final effects of that great work of philanthropy upon the African race.

The prohibition of the slave trade, and the emancipation of her West India slaves,\* greatly embarrassed the commercial interests of England, and forced her to grapple with the giant evils of the slave trade and slavery, and to attempt their destruction. But each step taken, after the prohibition of the slave trade, while it certainly promoted, *locally*, the cause of human liberty, dealt a death-blow to some of the vital interests of the government. And, as if the Almighty had designed to record, in letters of living light, his disapproval of the motives prompting England to enslave the African race, these blows have fallen upon the identical interests which had been created and built up by the slave trade and slavery, viz: her West India sugar, cotton, and coffee cultivation, and the markets for her manufactures which these islands afforded.

Previous to 1808, England's West India colonies were supplied with laborers from Africa, by means of the slave trade. The slaves in these islands numbered 800,000, in that year; but in 1834, when their emancipation had been effected, there were only 700,000.† This diminution of the slaves, while it very seriously affected the exports from the colonies, served to reveal the true character of West India slavery, and the means by which colonial prosperity had been sustained, and can only be accounted for from overworking, and the great disparity of the sexes always consequent upon the supply of laborers by the slave trade.‡

After the supply of slave labor had been cut off, by the prohibition of the slave trade, it was discovered that a vast decrease of exports was taking place in the colonies. The remedy proposed for this evil was emancipation; by means of which it was conceived that the liberated slaves would, as freemen, perform twice the labor that had been wrung out of them while under the lash, and also that double the quantity that had been supplied, of British manufactures, while in slavery, would be required to clothe them if free.§ Such a conceit as this could never have originated but in a mind entertaining unsound views of human nature, and unacquainted with the impossibility of controlling, by moral suasion, a half-civilized or savage people, and of inducing them to give up long-established habits. But the scheme was adopted, and England committed her second legislative error in

\* See Part I, for a full discussion of this subject.

† See Life of Buxton, and our First Part, p. 41.

‡ See Part I, p. 41.

§ See Part I, p. 39.

anti-slavery effort. The emancipation of the West India slaves was decreed in 1833, and fully executed in 1838.

The movements of France in relation to African freedom, must also be noticed, to obtain a clear view of the present relations of free labor to slave labor. The history of the island of St. Domingo supplies materials of great interest upon this subject. The French portion of that island, in 1789, consisting of 30,826 whites, and 27,548 free colored persons,\* had 480,000 slaves† employed in agriculture, and furnished *three-fifths* of the produce of all the French West India colonies, amounting in value to more than \$50,000,000, and consumed, of French manufactures, \$49,430,000.‡ The Spanish part of the island employed in agriculture only 15,000 slaves.§

The political troubles of St. Domingo began in 1790, between the mulattoes and the whites, the slaves remaining industrious, quiet, and orderly. But in August, 1792, the slaves joined in the rebellion, and the massacre of the whites was commenced. The most dreadful scenes of cruelty and bloodshed continued to be enacted until 1801, when a constitution was adopted, and the island, under the name of Hayti, formally proclaimed an independent neutral power. At the close of this year, Bonaparte made an effort to reconquer the island, and, in order to succeed, the French general, Le Clerc, first attempted to restore the planters to their former authority over the negroes, many of whom, in the preceding struggles, had been granted their freedom; but, failing in this, he was forced, as a last resort, on the 25th of April, 1802, to "proclaim liberty and equality to all the inhabitants, without regard to color." The Haytien chieftains, Touissant, Dessalines, Christophé, &c., being immediately deserted by the blacks, were forced to submit, and the French sovereignty was again recognized throughout Hayti. As a first step to deprive the people of their efficient leaders, Le Clerc seized Touissant and his family, in the night, about the middle of May, and hurried them on board a vessel, which sailed immediately for France.¶ This act of perfidy at once aroused the population to resistance, and the French, after a loss of 40,000 men, by disease and war, were compelled to capitulate, Nov., 1803, and, with a remnant of the army, of only 8,000 men, beg leave to depart from the island. Dessalines now assumed the authority, and a general massacre of the remaining French inhabitants took place.\*\*

From this period, 1803, dates the independence of Hayti. Its population was, at this time, 348,000.†† Christophé was declared king in 1811. Petion succeeded him and died in 1818, when Boyer came into power and annexed the Spanish part of the Island. From this period until 1843, when Boyer abdicated, the Island enjoyed a fair degree of tranquility. The legislation was rigidly directed to

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\* Westminster Rev., 1850, p. 261. † Macgregor, p. 1152.

‡ Blackwood's Mag., 1818, p. 6. § Macgregor, p. 1152.

¶ Confined to a loathsome dungeon, he died the next year.

\*\* See Life of Benjamin Lundy, and also Macgregor.

†† Macgregor, p. 1152.

secure the industry of the inhabitants, but with little success as we shall see.

In 1848, the whole of the slaves in the remaining French colonies were emancipated by a decree of the Republic. Their population, including free persons and slaves, we find stated as follows :\*

Colonies.	Free.	Slaves.	Colonies:	Free.	Slaves.
Martinique, .. (1846),	47,352	75,330	Nossi Falli and		
Gaudaloupe, ... (do),	40,428	89,349	Nossi Mitsou, (1846),	14,512	7,698
Bourban, ..... (do),	45,512	62,154	St. Mary Mag-		
Nossi Be and			dalene, ..... (do),	3,465	2,415
Nossi Cumba, . (do)			Senegal, ..... (1845),	8,427	10,113
			Algiers, (estimate).		10,000
Total, .....				159,696	257,059

We are now enabled to state the amount of the colored population, in the English and French colonies, to whom freedom has been secured, and upon whom, since their emancipation, *free labor tropical cultivation has devolved*. It was as follows :

British West Indies, ... 1834, .....	700,000
Hayti, ..... 1804, .....	348,000
Other French Colonies, 1848, .....	257,000
Total, .....	<u>1,305,000</u>

Here we shall terminate our preliminary historical retrospect and proceed to demonstrate our first proposition, which is this :

I. That free labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, is failing to furnish to the markets of the world, in anything like adequate quantities, those commodities upon which slave labor is chiefly employed.

We shall commence with the British West Indies. The following table embraces the exports from Jamaica alone. We cannot ascertain the amount exported from the whole English West India colonies, including the period of the slave trade. But as Jamaica is much the largest and most important Island, and as nearly the same results have followed in all the islands, it may justly be taken as the type of the whole, and as fully exhibiting the influence which the legislation of the mother country, on the subject of the slave trade and slavery, in its several stages of progress, has exerted upon her own commerce and manufactures, and upon the prosperity of the colonies. The quantities stated are the average annual exports for periods of *five years each, embracing the last five years of the slave trade, the last five of slavery, and the first five of freedom.*† We

\* Anti-Slavery Reporter.

† Where the sugar is given in hogsheads, we have reduced it to pounds, estimating the hhd. at 1600 lbs. nett.

are also enabled to bring down the results to the close of 1848, including the three last years separately.

Years of Exports.		lbs Sugar.	P. Rum.	lbs Coffee.	Ann. Value.
Ann. average,	1803 to 1807*	211,139,200	50,426	23,625,377	\$19,263,105
" "	1829 to 1833*	152,564,800	35,505	17,645,602	13,957,390
" "	1839 to 1843*	67,924,800	14,185	7,412,498	6,066,420
" exports	1846†	57,956,800	14,395	6,047,150	_____
" "	1847†	77,686,400	18,077	6,421,122	_____
" "	1848†	67,539,200	20,194	5,684,921	_____

\*Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 225.

†Littell's Living Age, 1850, No. 309, p. 125.—*Letters of Mr. Bigelow.*

We add also the exports from British Guiana, because it includes the article of cotton, and exhibits the decline in its production.\*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Pun. Rum.	Ck's. Molas.	lbs. Cotton.	Coffee. lbs. Dutch,
1827	113,868,800	22,362	28,226	6,361,600	8,063,752
1830	111,248,200	32,939	21,189	2,169,200	9,502,756
1833	101,464,000	17,824	44,508	1,479,600	5,704,482
1836	91,427,200	24,202	37,088	1,278,400	4,801,352
1839	61,585,600	16,070	12,134	541,600	1,583,250
1843	57,180,800	8,296	24,937	9,600	1,428,100

The rate at which the cultivation of cotton has declined in the British West Indies, is indicated by the imports of that article from them into England, in the periods stated below. †

1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1840*
4,640,414	3,449,247	2,401,685	2,040,428	2,084,826	2,296,525	427,529

\*McQueen, see Lecture, 1. p. 37.

The total amount of the imports of sugar and coffee, into England, from all her *West India Colonies*, but not embracing the period of the slave trade, were as follows:‡

Years of importation.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.
Ann. aver. in the 5 yrs, 1827 to 1831,.....	448,765,520	26,670,601
" " " " 1832 to 1836,.....	411,869,056	19,904,536
" " " " 1837 to 1841,.....	313,570,144	13,473,389
" " " " 1842 to 1846,.....	277,252,400	7,985,153
In the year 1847,.....	358,379,952	6,770,792
" " 1848.§ .....	313,306,112	_____

\*Blackwood's Mag., 1848, p. 225. †See table of imports, p. 16, of this Part.

‡Westminster Review, 1850, p. 279. §London Quar. Review, 1850, p. 97.



"In 1831 the British West India Colonies produced 459,622,600 lbs. of sugar;" being nearly eleven millions of pounds more than the average of that and the preceding four years. This amount seems to have been sufficient for the home consumption, because the importation of 65,320,192 lbs. of foreign sugar, during that year, *was for re-export only*.<sup>\*</sup> But in 1848, such had been the increased consumption of that article, in the seventeen years which had elapsed, that the imports of sugar amounted to 769,604,416 lbs., of which there was taken for consumption 690,213,552 lbs.† Of this amount the British West Indies supplied only 313,306,112 lbs.,‡ and 229,748,096 lbs. were of *foreign slave grown sugar*.§ We shall here close our statements in relation to the failure of free labor cultivation in the British West India Colonies, and turn to those of France.

The following statistical table of exports from Hayti,¶ tells, but too forcibly, the results of emancipation upon the commercial prosperity of that Island, and shows the magnitude of the loss sustained by France in having this colony wrested from her. It includes the exports of the three principal products from 1789 to 1841.

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.	Remarks.
1789	141,089,931	76,835,219	7,004,274	Island tranquil.
1790	163,318,810	68,151,180	6,286,126	Wh's and Mul. at war.
1801	18,534,112	43,420,270	2,480,340	Slaves freed in 1793.
1818	5,443,765	26,065,200	474,118	Boyer in power.
1819	3,790,300	29,240,919	216,103	" "
1820	2,517,289	35,137,759	346,839	" "
1821	600,934	29,925,951	820,563	" "
1822	200,451	24,235,372	592,368	" "
1823	14,920	33,802,837	332,256	" "
1824	5,106	41,269,084	1,028,045	" "
1825	2,020	36,034,300	815,697	" "
1826	32,864	32,189,784	620,972	" "
1835	1,097	48,352,371	1,649,717	Ex's for whole Island.
1836	16,199	37,662,672	1,072,555	" "
1837		30,845,400	1,013,171	" "
1838		49,820,241		" "
1839		7,889,092	1,635,420	" "
1840	741	46,126,272	922,575	Republic.
1841	1,363	34,114,717	1,591,454	"
1848	very little	33,600,000†	—* <sup>*</sup>	

\*No statement yet received. †Campbell, Arnott & Co.

The assertion of Independence by the people of Hayti, and the almost immediate abandonment of sugar cultivation in the Island, at once deprived France of three-fifths of her colonial imports of that article. To supply the deficiency, the Emperor Napoleon made the attempt, on a grand scale, to produce beet-root sugar in France itself. But this experiment did not meet the public wants, and the cultivation

<sup>\*</sup>London Quar. Review, 1850, p. 97. †Ib. p. 88. ‡Ib. p. 97. §Ib. p. 88.

¶Macgregor, London Ed. 1847.

of sugar, by slave labor, was necessarily rapidly increased in the remaining French colonies. The slave trade being actively prosecuted at that period, it afforded a full supply of slaves to the French planters, and the exports of sugar, from her remaining colonies, must have rapidly increased, as we find, that in the first nine months of 1847, they had increased to an amount exceeding by five millions and a half of pounds, the exports from Hayti, for the whole year, in 1790.

The effects of the recent emancipation of her slaves by the French Republic\* bids fair to prove as disastrous to the commerce of her colonies and to the interests of France, as were the results of the rebellion of Hayti. We find it stated, in the current news of the day, that, "according to official data, the amount of sugar imported into France, from her colonies in Guiana, the West Indies, and the Island of La Reunion, has fallen from 168,884,177 lbs., the quantity imported during the first nine months of 1847, to 96,929,336 lbs., for the same period of the year 1849, being a falling off, for the nine months, of 71,854,841 lbs.

We wish here to state distinctly that our leading object in presenting, so fully the evidences of the failure of free labor tropical cultivation, is not to prove that slavery *should not be abolished*; because that would involve the absurdity of insisting, that one-third the world should be enslaved, to secure to the other two-thirds their coffee, sugar, and cotton, at a reduced price. But our aim is to impress the great truth on the mind of the christian public, *that mere personal freedom is insufficient to elevate and ennoble an unenlightened people, and that intellectual and moral culture should accompany all emancipation schemes, otherwise they must fail in the accomplishment of the great good which personal freedom, under other circumstances, secures to man.*

Having now presented the principal instances where free labor has failed in tropical cultivation, *upon territory formerly employing slave labor*, we may pause and state the extent of that failure, so far as to include the articles of coffee, cotton, and sugar. But as we have not had access to any statement of the exports from the whole of the British West India Islands, for the period of the slave trade, we must take those of Jamaica as the type of the whole. From 1807 to 1831 the exports of sugar fell off, in Jamaica,  $38\frac{3}{10}\frac{3}{10}$  per cent., and that of coffee  $33\frac{8}{10}$ . By adding this amount to the exports from all the Islands in 1831, will give us their probable exports in 1807. The article of cotton cannot be brought under this rule, for want of accurate data, previous to 1829.

The *deficit* of free labor tropical cultivation, as compared with slave labor while sustained by the slave trade, including the territorial limits upon which England and France have liberated their bondsmen, stands as follows:—a startling result, truly, to those who expected emancipation to work well *commercially*.

## CONTRAST OF SLAVE LABOR AND FREE LABOR EXPORTS FROM THE WEST INDIES.

Slave Labor.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.
British West Indies, ....	1807	636,025,643	31,610,764	17,000,000*
Hayti,.....	1790	163,318,810	76,835,219	7,286,126
Total, .....	.....	809,344,453	108,245,983	24,286,126
Free Labor				
British West Indies.....	1848	313,306,112	6,770,792	427,529†
Hayti,.....	1848	very little	34,114,717‡	1,591,454‡
Total, .....	.....	313,306,112	40,885,509	2,018,983
Free Labor Deficit, .....	.....	496,038,341	67,360,474	22,267,143

\* 1800. † 1840. ‡ 1847.

We have not included the French Islands emancipated in 1848, because the information possessed in relation to them is not sufficiently accurate. When the decline of free labor, in them, reaches its maximum, at least another 100,000,000 lbs. of sugar must be added to the sum of free labor failures.\*

To understand the bearing which this decrease of production, by *Free Labor*, has upon the interests of the African people, it must be remembered that the consumption of sugar has not diminished, but increased, vastly, and that for every hogshead that free labor sugar is *diminished*, a hogshead of slave labor sugar is demanded *to supply* its place; and more than this: for every additional hogshead demanded by the *increased consumption* of sugar, an additional one, of slave labor production, *must be furnished*, because the world will not do without sugar. It must be noticed, also, that, at the present moment, the greater portion of all this *double demand* for sugar, falls upon the people of color. It seems to be a settled rule, that if the African race will not supply to the world its sugar, *by voluntary labor*, receiving for themselves all the profits on its production; then the world compels them to do it, *by compulsory labor*, and votes the whole profits to the *white man* who applies the whip that stimulates them to industry.

These remarks will apply to coffee and cotton, also, or to any other *exportable* tropical commodity upon which slave labor is employed. We now close our investigations in relation to our first proposition, believing that we have fully demonstrated its truthfulness, and shall proceed to the second.

\* See Parts First and Second, for our views of the causes of the failure of the type of free labor which exists in the West Indies.

II. That Christian governments, at the present moment, are compelled, from necessity, to consume slave labor products to a large extent, and thus still continue to aid in extending and perpetuating slavery and the slave trade.

The discussion of our first proposition closed with a statement of the deficit of free labor tropical cultivation, within the territorial limits upon which the emancipation of the slaves, formerly held in bondage by England and France, had been effected.

In discussing the second proposition, we shall first ascertain the extent of the consumption of tropical commodities, by the three governments most deeply interested in the questions of slavery and the slave trade, (England, France, and the United States,) and then the sources from which their supplies are obtained, and the proportions that are the product of free labor or of slave labor. And, first, of *Cotton*:

The manufacture of raw cotton into fabrics for clothing, was introduced into England at an early period; but it was confined chiefly to operatives in families, until about 1785, when the discovery of the power of steam, and the improvements in machinery, gave to manufacturing industry an impulse that has extended it with almost miraculous rapidity.

The best information that can be gained from the English custom-house books, gives from one to two millions of pounds of cotton as the amount annually imported between 1697 and 1751. In 1764, the imports had reached 3,870,000 lbs., and in 1784, over 11,480,000 pounds.\*

Previous to 1795, the supplies of cotton were obtained by England from the West Indies, South America, India, and the Levant.† It was not until 1791, that any cotton was shipped to England from the United States. In this year, 189,316 lbs. were sent over, and in the year following only 138,328 lbs.‡

The importation of cotton into England maintained a nearly equal annual progressive increase, from 1784 to 1805, when it had reached 60,000,000 lbs., and in 1817, near 125,000,000 lbs., a small part of which (8,156,000 lbs.) was re-exported.§

The quantity of cotton consumed by Great Britain, from 1817, the period last stated, to 1836, is embraced in the following table, which is extracted from that very able work, Porter's Progress of the Nation. That from 1840 to 1849 is also added, and is taken from a very elaborate and valuable article in the London Economist,|| a periodical that has no superior for accuracy. The whole table is one of great value in our discussion, and presents the important fact, that

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\* McCullough's account of British Empire, Vol. I, p. 643.

† Ib., p. 648.

‡ Ib., p. 648.

§ McCullough, Vol. I, p. 649.

|| Supplement to London Economist, Jan. 5, 1850.



the consumption of cotton in England, in 1849, was 624,000,000 lbs.\* The imports for the year reached 755,469,008 lbs.; of which there were re-exported 98,893,536 lbs., leaving for home consumption 656,575,472 lbs.,† of which only the quantity above stated was used within the year.

*Table exhibiting the quantity of Cotton annually consumed in England, from 1818 to 1838,‡ and from 1840 to 1849.§*

YEARS.	Cotton, lbs.	YEAR.	Cotton, lbs.	YEARS.	Cotton, lbs.
1818	109,902,000	1828	217,860,000	1840	517,254,400
1819	109,518,000	1829	219,200,000	1841	460,387,200
1820	120,265,000	1830	247,600,000	1842	477,339,200
1821	129,029,000	1831	262,700,000	1843	555,214,400
1822	145,493,000	1832	276,900,000	1844	570,731,200
1823	154,146,000	1833	287,000,000	1845	626,496,000
1824	165,174,000	1834	303,000,000	1846	624,000,000
1825	166,831,000	1835	326,407,692	1847	442,416,000
1826	150,213,000	1836	363,684,232	1848	602,160,000
1827	197,200,000	1838*	460,000,000	1849	624,000,000

\* Lectures of George Thompson, Esq., England, 1839, p. 93.

The cotton consumed in the United States, in 1848, including an estimate of that manufactured in the cotton-growing States, and in those along the tributaries of the Mississippi, estimating the bales at 460 lbs. each, was 260,000,000 lbs.¶ Our average annual increased consumption of cotton is 14,000,000 lbs.,¶ which, for 1849, will augment the quantity consumed in the United States to 274,000,000 lbs.

The consumption of cotton in France, in 1832, was 68,725,961 lbs., and in 1833, 72,767,551 lbs.\*\* The exports from the United States to France, in 1849, were 151,340,000 lbs.†† The whole amount delivered for consumption that year was 156,000,000 lbs., of which 147,000,000 lbs. were from the United States, and the remaining 9,000,000 lbs. from other countries,‡‡—from Brazil, say 3,000,000 lbs.

The whole amount of cotton taken for consumption, in 1849, in the remaining continental countries, was 129,920,000 lbs., of which 128,800,000 lbs. were from the United States,§§ leaving of that from other countries, only 1,020,000 lbs.

The consumption of cotton from the United States, on the whole continent of Europe, now reaches 280,000,000 lbs.¶¶

\* In the table of the *Economist*, published before the whole consumption of 1849 had been ascertained, it is estimated at 659,984,000 lbs., the editor having taken, as his data, the consumption of the first eleven months of the year. Subsequently, the actual quantity was ascertained and published, and we have changed the figures to the true amount.

† London *Economist*, 1850, p. 195.    ‡ Porter's *Progress of the Nation*.

§ Supplement to the London *Economist*, Jan. 1850, p. 36.

¶ New Orleans Bulletin.

¶ Supplement to London *Economist*, Jan. 1850, p. 35.

\*\* Porter's *Progress*.

‡‡ London *Economist*, 1850, p. 103.

†† See page 123.

§§ Sup. to L. Econ., Jan. 1850, p. 35.

¶¶ London Econ., 1850, p. 103.

We are now prepared to state the amount of cotton, from all sources, *actually consumed* by the United States and Europe, in 1849. It was as follows :

Great Britain, . . . . .	lbs. . . . .	624,000,000
France and other Continental countries, . . . . .		285,920,000
The United States, . . . . .		270,000,000
Total Cotton Consumption, . . . . .	lbs. . . . .	<u>1,179,920,000</u>

The next point of inquiry is, Whence are these supplies of cotton obtained? "Next to the United States, but at a very great distance from them, Brazil, the East Indies, and Egypt, are the countries which furnish the largest supplies of cotton for exportation."\* The advantages possessed by the United States, in the growing of cotton, and the superior qualities of our staple, render it difficult, if not impossible, for the other countries producing that article, to compete with us in its cultivation. The subjoined table is full of instruction on this subject.

*Imports of Cotton into Great Britain, during each of the six years, ending with 1834, specifying the countries whence imported, the re-exports, and quantity left for consumption.†*

Countries whence Imported.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Germany, Holland, } Belgium, . . . . . }	77,135	77,135	116,727	3,909	7,296	
Portugal, Proper, . . . . .	27,893	85,967	59,050	943,381	5,524	
Italy and Italian Islands, . . . . .	15	35,640	21,739	15,708	826,458	
Malta, . . . . .	61,284	27,073	843,895	28,063	17,298	
Turkey and Continent- } al Greece, . . . . . }	91,905	353,077	366,550	289,779	433,898	410,730
Egypt, (Ports on Med- } iterranean,) . . . . . }	5,894,480	3,048,633	7,714,474	8,824,111	553,364	441,437
Mauritius, . . . . .	50,599	14,056				
East Indies and Ceylon, . . . . .	24,481,761	12,481,761	25,805,153	35,178,625	32,755,164	32,920,875
Philippine Islands, . . . . .	16,011	29,672	8,420	40,879	37,908	
British N. A. Colonies, . . . . .	32,419	2,473	316,016	7,158	145,526	3,352
British West Indies, . . . . .	4,640,414	3,429,247	2,400,685	2,040,428	2,084,862	2,296,525
Haiti, . . . . .	149,048	166,266	251,179	59,413	389,791	223,001
Cuba and other foreign } West Indies, . . . . . }	128,896	10,174		314		3,794
U. States of America, . . . . .	157,187,396	210,585,358	219,333,628	219,756,753	237,596,758	269,203,075
Colombia, . . . . .	697,564	221,381	334,691	293,602	305,033	1,604,140
Brazil, . . . . .	28,878,386	33,092,072	31,695,761	20,109,560	28,463,821	19,291,396
Chili & Rio de la Plata, . . . . .			10,624	3,729	378	75,257
Various other countries, . . . . .	1,931	4,063	110	1,446	38	154,839
Peru, . . . . .	69,378	45,629	57,027	1,194		4,053
Total imported, . . . . .	222,767,411	263,961,452	288,674,853	286,832,525	303,656,837	326,875,425
Amount exported, . . . . .	30,289,115	8,534,976	22,308,556	18,027,940	17,363,882	24,461,963
Left for consumption, . . . . .	192,478,296	255,426,476	266,366,298	268,804,585	286,292,955	302,413,462

The following table, added to the above, affords all the information that is necessary to a full understanding of the question, whence the supplies of cotton are obtained:

\* McCullough, Vol. I, p. 651. † Ib.

*Imports of cotton into Great Britain, from all foreign countries, presenting the annual average during periods of five years, from 1830 to 1849, inclusive.\**

Years.	Miscellaneous.†	Brazil.	Egypt.	East Indies.	United States.
1830 to 1834	5,510,000	59,590,800	7,959,600	32,318,000	247,356,400
1835 to 1839	12,909,600	51,474,800	13,842,400	57,612,000	344,688,800
1840 to 1844	9,430,800	37,698,000	16,633,200	93,383,600	464,226,400
1845 to 1849	3,586,400	39,654,800	17,967,200	71,940,800	734,244,560 ‡

When the cotton of the United States had been fairly tested in England, it was found to be very much superior to that from the East Indies. The seed of our cotton was, therefore, introduced into India, and its cultivation so far succeeded, as to warrant the belief that, with proper encouragement from government, it might be grown in any quantities. In 1839, a vigorous effort was made, headed by George Thompson, Esq., § to enlist Parliament in the enterprise. It was urged that all the elements of successful cotton cultivation existed in the East Indies, and that the English nation might soon obtain its supplies of cotton from that country, and repudiate that of the United States.

The introduction to the American edition of the Lectures delivered by Thompson on that occasion, which was written by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, contains the following sentences. || They sufficiently indicate what were the anticipations of the advocates of the measure :

“If England can raise her own cotton in India, at the paltry rate of a penny a pound, what inducement can she have to obtain her supply from a rival nation, at a rate six or eight times higher? It is stated that East India free labor costs three pence a day—African slave labor, two shillings; that upward of 800,000 bales of cotton are exported from the United States, annually, to England; and that the cotton trade of the United States with England amounts to the enormous sum of \$40,000,000 annually. Let that market be closed to this slaveholding Republic, and its slave system must inevitably perish from starvation !”

Mr. Thompson, throughout the whole course of his lectures, seems not to doubt the success of East India cotton cultivation, and also that of sugar and coffee, and that the result would be the destruction of the slave trade, and the downfall of slavery everywhere. He thus exclaims : ¶

“The battle-ground of freedom for the world is on the plains of Hindostan. Yes, my friends, *do justice to India*; wave *there* the scepter of justice, and the rod of oppression falls from the hands of the slaveholder in America; and the slave, swelling beyond the

\* Supplement to the London Economist, 1850, pp. 34, 35.—Bales estimated at 400 lbs. each.

† Chiefly the British Colonies.

‡ We have substituted the average imports of 1848 and 1849, from the United States, instead of from 1845 to 1849, because it gives a nearer approximation to the truth. 1847, in the U. S., made only three-fourths of a crop, and it was the year of famine in Great Britain.

§ The great Abolitionist. || Lecture by George Thompson, Esq., 1839, p. 9.

¶ Lecture, page 121.

measure of his chains, stands disenthralled, a free man, and an acknowledged brother!"

We need not trace the history of this effort to promote the cultivation of cotton in India. It is of such recent occurrence, that all intelligent men are familiar with the results. Paragraphs like the following frequently meet the eye of the general reader. It is taken from a reliable periodical.

"Late accounts from India [through the English press,] represent that the attempts of the British capitalists, during the last two or three years, to cultivate cotton in the district of Dharwar, from which much was expected, have signally failed. In 1847-8, about 20,000 acres were cultivated. It is now ascertained that the crop has rapidly decreased, only 4,000 acres having been under cultivation the past year."

It is unnecessary to discuss the causes operating in the East Indies, to make it impossible to stimulate its *free laborers* much beyond their wonted rules of industry. Our views upon this question will be found in our two former lectures, where we present the causes of the failure of West India free labor. We need but state, here, that the East Indies have only a *Pagan civilization*, which has long since attained its full maturity. Any efforts, therefore, aside from the introduction of Christianity, and a *Christian civilization*, or the reduction of the population to slavery, must fail in securing a much greater degree of industry than exists at present. If left to their own free will, all attempts to introduce improvements in agriculture and manufactures, will probably result like the following effort made to improve their mode of plowing. Under the head of "Cotton in India," the London Times of the present year, says:

"The one great element of American success — of American enterprise — can never, at least for many generations, be imparted to India. It is impossible to expect of Hindoos all that is achieved by citizens of the States. During the experiments to which we have alluded, an English plow was introduced into one of the provinces, and the natives were taught its use and superiority over their own clumsy machinery. They were at first astonished and delighted at its effects, but as soon as the agent's back was turned, they took it, painted it red, set it up on end, and *worshipped* it."

Another anecdote, confirmatory of the impossibility of effecting a change of habits in the people of India, was told by the Rev. J. H. Morrison, missionary in India, during his late visit to this country. An English gentleman, resident in India, had commenced an improvement, requiring the removal of a large quantity of earth. Employing native laborers, they commenced the task in their usual way, by carrying the earth to the place of deposit, in baskets, upon their heads. Pitying them, and wishing to facilitate the work, he had a number of wheelbarrows constructed, and taken upon the ground. Showing the laborers how to use them, they appeared pleased with the novelty, and worked briskly. Gratified that he had relieved them from a toilsome system of labor, the gentleman left them to pursue their work. But on returning some days afterwards, he was astonished



and mortified, to see them filling their wheelbarrows, and then, lifting the whole burden upon their heads, deliberately carrying it off as they had done their baskets. Such is Pagan stupidity and Pagan attachment to custom.

The successful cultivation of cotton in the United States, and the better adaptation of the lands in Cuba and Brazil, to the production of sugar and coffee, has led the planters of these two countries to devote their labor chiefly to the production of the last named commodities. The preceding tables of imports into England, (page 16.) proves the truth of this statement, and shows a great diminution in the production of cotton, except in the United States. In reviewing the results in the several cotton-growing countries, the London Economist remarks : \*

"From Brazil, therefore, our annual supply has diminished nearly 20,000,000 lbs.; or if we compare the two extreme years of the series, 1830 and 1848, the falling off is from 76,906,800 lbs. to 40,097,600 lbs. or 36,800,000 lbs.

"The supply from Egypt, however, seems to have reached its maximum in 1845, in which year we received 32,537,600 lbs. This year it does not reach half that amount. Moreover, this country, from the peculiar circumstances of its government, is little to be relied upon,—the supply having varied from 16,116,000 lbs. in 1832, to 1,027,600 lbs. in 1833; and again, from 7,298,000 lbs. in 1842, to 26,400,000 lbs. in 1844.

"For many years it was the custom of the Pacha of Egypt, to require a certain amount of cotton from his tenants, or, in fact, to compel them to pay the whole, or a fixed portion of their rent, in cotton. Under this forcing system, the cultivation was extensively introduced. Of late years, however, the Fellahs have been allowed to grow the article, or not, at their option; and such is their natural indolence and want of enterprise, that even where they still continue the growth, they do so in a very careless manner. †

"Our supply from the East Indies varies enormously, from 36,000,000 lbs. to 108,000,000 lbs. per annum, *inasmuch as we only receive that proportion of the crop which our prices may divert from China, or from internal consumption.*

"The summary of our supply, from all these quarters combined, is :  
 1830 to 1834, 105,410,400 lbs. | 1840 to 1844, 157,145,600 lbs.  
 1835 to 1839, 136,088,000 lbs. | 1845 to 1849, 133,120,800 lbs.

"The result of this inquiry, then, is, that our average annual supply from all quarters, except the United States, was, in the five years ending 1849, *less* by 2,943,200 lbs. than in the five years ending 1839, and *less* by 24,000,000 lbs. than in the five years ending 1844. Of this *diminished* supply, moreover, we have been exporting an *increasing* quantity, averaging, annually, in the last five years, 31,680,000 lbs. against 27,360,000, annually, in the previous five years."

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\* Supplement to Jan. 5, 1850, p. 34. † *Ib.* p. 38.

The imports of cotton into the United States, mostly from the Dutch West Indies, is very inconsiderable in amount, being, for 1848, only 317,742 lbs., or less than 800 bags, of which 51,000 lbs. were re-exported.

The exports of cotton from the United States, affords the key to the chief source of supply of that article to European countries.

*Exports of Cotton from the United States, to Foreign Countries, for the years 1846, 1847, 1848, and 1849, the years ending June 30.\**

Whither Exported.	Lbs.—1846.	Lbs.—1847.	Lbs.—1848.	Lbs.—1849.
Russia, .....	4,292,680	5,618,365	10,266,911	10,650,631
Prussia, .....	.....	.....	116,523	.....
Sweden and Norway,...	2,555,788	2,887,693	4,978,024	7,030,305
Denmark, .....	32,287	660,732	69,020	4,779
Hanse towns, .....	7,543,017	10,889,543	17,420,498	13,844,494
Holland, .....	3,849,859	1,978,324	4,851,509	11,877,386
Belgium, .....	7,408,422	10,184,348	15,279,676	28,113,309
England, .....	326,365,971	338,150,564	546,911,132	696,669,474
Scotland, .....	13,312,850	12,683,738	25,091,965	38,706,884
Ireland, .....	6,379,746	424,497	.....	3,968,547
Gibraltar, .....	1,054,310	90,199	133,202	5,725,812
British Amer. Colonies, .	47,380	226,493	22,352	97,104
France on the Atlantic,	124,185,369	98,421,966	129,263,272	144,481,949
“ Mediterranean,	7,867,480	4,695,492	7,034,583	6,858,283
Spain, .....	117,885	12,313,658	19,323,425	23,285,804
Cuba, .....	10,102,969	3,139,156	4,557,474	1,584,784
Portugal, .....	19,533	.....	774	240,895
Italy, .....	11,212,093	8,720,718	6,077,621	10,604,462
Sardinia, .....	2,387,264	4,494,594	2,514,364	6,053,707
Trieste and Austrian ports	13,382,043	11,780,673	20,643,690	13,279,384
Mexico, .....	4,392,828	.....	.....	2,208,704
Cent. Repub. of America, .	.....	.....	.....	524,721
China and South Seas, ..	85,760	848,998	12,953	760,861
TOTAL, lbs. ....	547,558,055	527,219,958	814,274,431	1026,602,269
VALUE, .....	\$42,767,341	\$53,415,884	\$61,998,294	\$66,296,976

We must bring this discussion of the cotton question to a close. If we take the table of imports into England,† as the guide, it will be seen that she was importing, annually, during the last period named, ending with 1849, the following proportions of *slave labor* and of *free labor* cotton :

*The product of Slave labor.*

From Brazil, . . . . .	39,654,800 lbs.	
From United States, . . . . .	734,244,560 “	
		<b>773,899,360 lbs.</b>

*The product of Free labor.*

From Egypt, . . . . .	17,967,200 lbs.	
From East Indies, . . . . .	71,940,800 “	
From Miscellaneous, . . . . .	3,586,400 “	
		<b>93,494,400 “</b>

England's excess of imports of slave labor cotton,	<b>680,404,960 “</b>
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\* Reports of Sec. of Treas. of U. S. on Commerce and Navigation.

† Present Part, page 120.

The actual consumption of cotton, by England, in 1849, as before stated, was 624,000,000 lbs. Of the imports of 133,149,200 lbs.\* cotton not the growth of the United States, there were re-exported 31,680,000 lbs.,† leaving thereof, for consumption in England, 101,469,200 lbs. Deducting this amount from the quantity consumed in 1849, leaves 522,530,800 lbs. as the amount of England's consumption of cotton derived from the United States.

But of the 101,469,200 lbs. above named, at least 30,000,000 lbs. must have been from Brazil, and consequently of slave labor origin, leaving for the English manufacturer, only 71,469,200 lbs. of free labor cotton.

The result of this investigation may now be stated thus :

*Slave Labor Cotton consumed in 1849.*

By England, from Brazil, . . .	30,000,000 lbs.
By England, from United States, 522,530,800	“
By France,‡ from United States, 147,000,000	“
By France, from Brazil, say, . . .	3,000,000 “
By other continental countries, from United States, . . .	128,800,000 “
By United States, growth of United States, . . . . .	270,000,000 “
Total slave labor consumption, . . . . .	1,101,330,800 lbs.

*Free Labor Cotton consumed in 1849.*

By England, from all sources, . . .	71,469,200 lbs.
By France, say, . . . . .	6,000,000 “
By other continental countries,    . . .	1,120,000 “
Total free labor consumption, . . . . .	78,589,200 lbs.
Grand total cotton consumption, . . . . .	1,179,920,000 “

That this exhibit of the cotton question is not an exaggerated statement, got up for effect, but is within the limits of the truth, will appear evident when the extent of the production of cotton is taken into consideration. By the Custom House books of commercial nations, all imports and exports of merchandise are easily ascertained.

The following statement, embracing only the quantity of cotton consumed in the United States and exported from it, and the amount imported into England from other countries than the United States, in 1849, will be sufficient for our purpose.

Exports of cotton from the United States, . . .	1,026,602,269 lbs
Amount consumed in the United States, . . .	270,000,000 “
Amount imported into England from East Indies, Egypt, Brazil, &c., . . . . .	133,120,800 “
Total, . . . . .	1,429,723,069 “
Amount included in our estimates, . . .	1,179,920,000 “
Surplus over our estimates, . . . . .	249,803,069 “

\* See table, page 120, present Part.

† Present Part, p. 122.

‡ Present Part, p. 118.

|| London Economist, 1850, p. 103

After this exhibition of facts, we have no fears that the fairness of our statements will be called in question. Indeed, a close scrutiny will show that we have not pressed into the tables of slave grown cotton, all that we might have done. All the foreign imports of cotton, not the growth of the United States, that were not re-exported by England, are counted as consumed, thus reducing the proportion of the slave labor cotton of the United States by the amount of the former remaining unconsumed. We wish it also to be noticed, that we have included in the list of slave labor cotton consumed in England, in 1849, only 522,530,800 lbs. from the United States, while in that year, she imported of our cotton, 755,469,008 lbs., being an excess over the amount included in the quantity consumed, nearly equal to the surplus above stated, and proving that that surplus must be mostly the product of slave labor.

We may now safely place, in contrast, the figures representing the proportions of *Free Labor* and of *Slave Labor Cotton* consumed by the United States and Europe, in 1849, and claim, that, so far as this commodity is concerned, our second proposition is triumphantly sustained. Look at the figures :

Total slave labor cotton consumption, . . .	1,101,330,000 lbs.
Total free labor cotton consumption, . . .	<u>78,589,200 "</u>
Excess of consumption of slave labor over free labor cotton, . . . . .	<u>1,022,741,600 "</u>

Your attention is now called to the article of *Coffee*. As England occupies the most prominent position upon the subject of African freedom, and is making the most determined struggles to stimulate free labor, and make it compete with slave labor, her connection with this question, as with all the others, becomes one of great interest. Up to 1825, a discriminating duty of 56 shillings per cwt. was levied upon coffee from British India, for the benefit of the English West India colonies. At that time, this duty was but little felt, because, owing to the excessive duty levied upon all descriptions of coffee, the consumption of the kingdom was below the supply from the West Indies, and the surplus had to seek a market elsewhere. In 1825, the discriminating duty was reduced to 28 shillings the cwt. The duty after this time stood thus :

West India coffee paid 6*d.* per lb., or 56*s.* per cwt.  
 East India " " 9*d.* " or 84*s.* "

and all other kinds were, and still are, charged 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb., or 140*s.* per cwt., amounting to a prohibition.

The consumption of coffee in Great Britain, after these changes in the tariff, increased from 8,000,000 lbs., in 1824, to 22,000,000, in 1830. The demand created by this increased consumption, could

\* Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Commerce and Navigation.

† Present Part, p. 119.

‡ Present Part, p. 122.

§ London Economist, 1850, p. 103.

† See table, p. 119, present Part.

§ Present Part, p. 118.

\*\* Present Part, p. 118.



not be supplied by the West India planters, and the price rose 39 per cent., so as to bring the East India coffee into use.

At the time of the reduction of the duties, West India coffee sold at 90s. the cwt., but it advanced to 125s. without effecting an increased production. The quantity annually imported from the West Indies, in the five years that preceded the reduction of the duty in 1825, averaged 30,280,360 lbs., and from 1832 to 1836, only 19,812,160 lbs., being a reduction of 34 per cent. in the supply, notwithstanding an advance of 39 per cent. in the price. This result led to another modification of the coffee duties in 1835, when East India coffee was admitted on equal terms with that of the West Indies.

While the duty on East India coffee was 9d. per lb., the amount increased, because of the increase of price of West India coffee, from about 300,000 lbs. a year, to 1,500,000 lbs. In 1835, the consumption of East India coffee amounted to 5,596,791 lbs., and in 1837 reached 9,114,793 lbs.\*

The following table, embracing the whole field of the extent of the production and consumption of coffee, is so full and satisfactory, that nothing more can be needed to a clear understanding of the subject. It was prepared in December, 1849, by CAMPBELL, ARNOTT & Co., the great Liverpool coffee merchants, and may be relied upon as possessing much accuracy.

*Comparative View of Production and Consumption of Coffee.*

COUNTRIES PRODUCING.	1832.	1838.	1843.	1848.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Brazil, .....	73,920,000	112,000,000	188,160,000	280,000,000
Java and Sumatra, .....	60,480,000	92,560,000	156,800,000	131,400,000
Cuba, .....	49,280,000	49,280,000	49,280,000	22,400,000
Porto Rico, Lagunayra, and Costa Rica, .....	20,160,000	22,400,000	24,640,000	33,600,000
St. Domingo, .....	44,800,000	38,080,000	40,320,000	33,600,000
British West Indies, and Ceylon, .....	26,208,000	21,952,000	19,040,000	38,080,000
Dutch West Indies, .....	4,480,000	3,360,000	3,360,000	2,240,000
French East and West Indies, .....	11,200,000	8,960,000	8,960,000	6,720,000
Mocha, India, &c., .....	11,200,000	6,720,000	6,720,000	4,480,000
Total Production, .....	301,728,000	361,312,000	497,280,000	555,520,000
Deduct consumption of United States, .....	49,280,000	89,600,000	123,200,000	156,800,000
Balance for Europe, .....	252,448,000	271,712,000	374,080,000	398,720,000
COUNTRIES CONSUMING	1832	1833	1843	1848
Great Britain, .....	23,520,000	25,312,000	31,360,000	38,080,000
France and transit, and Switzerland, .....	33,600,000	36,064,000	40,320,000	44,800,000
Holland, Belgium, and Germany, .....	152,320,000	190,400,000	219,520,000	232,960,000
Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, .....	11,200,000	15,680,000	22,400,000	26,880,000
Italy, Austria, Levant, Greece, and Turkey, ..	34,720,000	40,320,000	51,520,000	58,240,000
Spain and Portugal, .....	6,720,000	8,960,000	11,200,000	13,440,000
Total Consumption, .....	262,080,000	316,736,000	376,320,000	414,400,000
Surplus on the 30th of December, .....	117,600,000	94,752,000	177,632,000	159,936,000

\* Porter's Progress of the Nation, Vol. II., p. 118, 119.

In 1821, the United States consumed 11,866,063 lbs. of coffee. The duty was then five cents per lb. and remained at this rate until 1831, when it was reduced to two cents, and in 1832 to one cent.

In 1833 coffee was admitted free of duty, and has so remained ever since that date. The consumption of that year was 75,057,906 lbs., to which it had gradually risen from the 11,886,000 lbs. of 1821. From this date, the consumption of coffee in the United States, had a rapid increase until 1847, when it had reached 150,332,992 lbs.\* In 1848 the consumption was 156,000,000 lbs.†

As all our investigations have reference to the question of the extent to which Christian governments are consuming slave labor products, it becomes necessary to refer to the sources whence the coffee imported by each is obtained. It stands thus :

England, by her discriminating duties, *almost entirely excludes slave labor coffee*, and derives nearly the whole amount of her consumption of that article from her own colonies. Of the 34,431,074 lbs. of coffee imported for England for home consumption, 29,769,730 lbs. were from her own colonies, and only 4,661,344 from elsewhere.||

According to the table of Campbell, Arnott, and Co., the quantity of coffee produced in slave labor countries, including Brazil, the Dutch West Indies, Cuba, Porto Rico, &c., in 1848, was 338,240,000 lbs., while in the remaining coffee growing countries, which were all free labor, (France, in that year, having emancipated the slaves in her colonies,) the production was only 217,800,000 lbs., being less than that of the product of slave labor, *by nearly one-third*, or 120,440,000 lbs. As Holland, Belgium, and Germany, consume 98,560,000 lbs. of coffee more than is produced in Java and Sumatra, this excess is probably all slave grown produce. Looking at the small product of the colonies of France, and her large consumption, the conclusion is, that the greater portion of what she uses must be the product of slave labor.

The following table points to the sources whence the United States derives its coffee, and the extent to which she is dependent upon slave labor for that article.

Imports of Coffee into the United States, for the year 1848. ‡

Countries whence imported.	Coffee, lbs.	Countries whence imported.	Coffee, lbs.
Swedish West Indies....	510	Hayti .....	16,990,976
Danish do. do. ....	56,702	New Granada.....	328,971
Dutch do. do. ....	2,001	Venezuela.....	12,720,613
British do. do. ....	3,037,373	Brazil .....	111,657,395
Dutch East Indies.....	141,077	Cisplatine Republic....	507,810
British do. do. ....	710,331	Chili .....	37,136
Holland .....	2,381,773	Africa generally .....	57,567
Manilla and Phillipine Is.	25,484	Asia generally.....	167,400
Cuba .....	2,258,710	France on Atlantic ....	1,923
Other Spanish W. I. ....	384,393		
		Total, lbs.	151,412,125

\* Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., Dec. 1, 1847. † Campbell, Arnott, and Co.

‡ Rep. Sec. Treas. on Com. & Nav., 1848 & 9, the year ending June 30, 1848.

|| London Qr. Rev. April, 1850.

Of the coffee imported, as above, that from Brazil, Cuba, and other Spanish and Dutch West Indies, amounting to 114,294,214 lbs., was all slave labor produce. Taking all the remaining imports as the product of free labor, and they only afford us 37,117,911 lbs., or a half million less than one-fourth of the amount imported. Thus stands the coffee question in the United States.

From the preceding statistics it appears that the United States and the nations of Europe are now consuming, annually, or have as stock on hand, about 555,520,000 lbs. of coffee, divided as follows:

The product of slave labor . . . . 338,240,000 lbs.

The product of free labor . . . . 217,280,000 lbs.

Difference in favor of slave labor . . 120,960,000 lbs.

Next, and last, the article of *Sugar* claims attention. "It was unknown to the ancients, as an article of consumption. In Europe it was introduced as late as the fifteenth century." The first sample of West India sugar was manufactured in Jamaica, in 1673. The rapidity with which its production, and consumption, has increased, will be indicated by the following table, showing the exports of sugar from Jamaica. This table is made up from one in Martin's British Colonies, a work of great research; the facts of which are derived from official sources. The statistics have been condensed so as to give the average annual exports from 1772 to 1836, and there is added, from Blackwood's Magazine, those from 1839 to 1843, and from 1846 to 1848.\* A few years omitted in the earlier periods, are blanks in Martin's tables. From 1804, onward, where different results from the general average are found, we give the years separately. This arrangement is important, to enable us to judge of the influence which *the prohibition of the slave trade* exerted upon the prosperity of that and the other West India Islands; and to determine the period when the decline in the amount of Jamaica exports had its origin.

*Average annual exports of Sugar from Jamaica, for the periods stated.†*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.
1772 to 1775	123,979,700	1809 to 1810	180,963,825
1788 to 1791	143,794,837	1811 alone.	218,874,600
1793 to 1798	145,598,850	1812 to 1821	183,706,280
1799 to 1803	193,781,140	1822 to 1832	153,760,431
1804 alone.	177,436,750	1833 to 1835	131,129,100
1805 alone.	237,751,150	1836 alone	75,990,950
1806 alone.	231,656,650	1839 to 1843	67,924,800
1807 to 1808	197,963,825	1846 to 1848§	67,539,200

|| Present Lecture, p. 10.

§ Ibid.

As heretofore stated,‡ the effects of the abolition of the slave trade, in 1808, and of the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, upon the

\* See present Part, p. 113.

† Page 110, Present Part.

‡ The tables of Martin give the exports in hhds. tierces, and bbls. We have reduced the whole to lbs., estimating the hhd. at 1600 lbs., the tierce at 900 lbs. and the barrel at 250 lbs., as per best authorities.

commercial interests of Jamaica, will serve as a true index to the results in all the English West India colonies.

The course of legislation in England, for several years past, has tended to increase the consumption of sugar by augmenting the supply. Up to 1844 all foreign sugars were excluded, and her own colonies enjoyed a strict monopoly of her markets. But the failures of her West India possessions, after emancipation, to furnish their usual supplies, led, in 1844, to the admission of foreign *free labor* sugar for consumption, and, in 1846, to that of *slave labor* sugar also.

In 1848, the London Quarterly Review\* says, that the amount taken for consumption, of foreign slave grown sugar, was 229,748,096 lbs. We have been unable to ascertain the total annual consumption of slave grown sugar, in England, since 1846, but find, by the London Economist,† that, for the first *eleven months* of each year, it has been as follows :

1846	lbs.	57,902,544	1848	lbs.	118,366,976
1847	"	104,838,048	1849	"	63,517,888

The total imports of sugar into England, and the amount re-exported, were as follows :

	<i>English imports.‡</i>	<i>English re-exports.  </i>
1846	lbs. _____	lbs. 29,624,432
1847	" _____	" 96,613,992
1848	" 852,792,976	" 48,735,008
1849	" 928,002,208	" 84,768,096

The difference between the imports and re-exports is the amount taken for consumption, and the difference between this and the actual consumption indicates the stock left on hand at the close of the year.

The whole amount of sugar consumed in England, in 1831,§ was over 450,000,000 lbs. From 1844 to 1849, the consumption of this article, including molasses at its equivalent in sugar, was as follows : ¶

1844	lbs.	486,648,960	1847	lbs.	675,329,120
1845	"	570,127,040	1848	"	692,256,320
1846	"	609,781,760	1849	"	728,931,600

By taking the average consumption of 1848 and 1849, a true idea of the present annual demand for sugar, in the English market, will be afforded :

It was, per annum, . . . . . lbs. 710,593,960  
Of which slave-grown sugar\*\* constituted, say, 146,000,000

Leaving England's consumption of free labor sugar, 564,593,960

\* See present Part, p. 114.

† 1850, p. 86.

‡ London Economist, 1850, p. 169.

|| *Ib.*, p. 170.

§ Present Part, p. 114.

¶ Lond. Economist, 1850, p. 170.

\*\* See page 130.—Allowing all the exports from the English Colonies to be imported and consumed by her, the whole amount is less than her consumption, by about 146,000,000 lbs.



The *sources* of England's supply of sugar can be seen at once, in the annexed table. The amounts stated, however, are only for the *first eleven months* of each year, and do not give the whole quantity imported and entered for consumption.

*Sugar entered in the first eleven months of each year, for consumption.\**

Year.	West Indies.	Mauritius.	East India.	Total colonial.	Total foreign.
1846	244,737,136	93,879,520	150,773,616	489,390,272	57,902,544
1847	261,306,080	112,783,216	124,300,144	498,399,440	104,838,048
1848	283,772,036	86,086,896	140,658,572	510,517,404	134,046,976
1849	319,032,896	106,993,152	138,867,792	564,893,616	47,837,888

We add another table, which embraces the whole of the *exports* from *all* the British colonies, from 1840 to 1849, and exhibits their extent for the *twelve months* of each year.

*Exports of Sugar from all the British Colonial Possessions.†*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Remarks.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Remarks.
1840	365,060,192	Strict monopoly	1845	551,336,992	Fr. lab. sug. adm.
1841	473,177,488	" "	1846	501,061,904	Foreign, of all
1842	463,220,064	" "	1847	700,906,576	kinds, adm.
1843	459,557,728	" "	1848	566,077,792	" "
1844	459,495,696	" "	1849	583,024,400	" "

This table includes the entire sources of supply possessed by England within her own colonies, and shows that their exports of sugar, were

Short of her consumption, in 1849, by 145,907,200 pounds.

Short of her total imports,      do.      344,977,808      "

But it must here be remarked, that the whole exports *from* the British colonies are not always *imported* into England, because a portion of their products are taken by other countries. In 1848, the United States imported from the British West India Islands, 1,258,222 lbs. of sugar, and in 1849, 1,245,492 lbs. It must be recollected, then, that the *exports* from her colonies are not always the measure of England's *imports* from them, and that, therefore, the amount of *her* supplies of cotton, sugar, coffee, &c., from her colonies, are not always equal to *their* exports.

The production of cane sugar in the United States, until recently, was confined to Louisiana. The rapidity with which it has progressed, in this country, furnishes a useful lesson for the little Republic of Liberia. She possesses the best quality of sugar lands, and has around her an unlimited amount of labor that may be made available.

The following table presents the amount of the crops of sugar produced in Louisiana, at nearly equal intervals, during thirty years :

\* London Economist, 1850, p. 86.

† London Economist, from Parl. Rep. 351, 1850.

and shows the extent of our domestic supply of cane sugar.\* The production of maple sugar, in 1840,† was about 30,000,000 lbs.

*Table of crops of Louisiana Sugar.*

Years.	lbs. Sugar.	Years.	lbs. Sugar.
1818	18,000,000	1844-5	204,916,000
1824-5	30,000,000	1848-9	220,000,000
1829-30	73,000,000	1849-50*	269,769,000
1834-5	110,000,000	“ Texas.†	10,000,000
1839-40	119,457,000	Lou. gals. molas.	12,000,000

\* New Orleans Commercial Bulletin.

† Ibid.

The imports of foreign cane sugar into the United States, for the last two years, were as follows : ‡

1848	257,138,230
1849	259,324,126

Of these amounts the following were the proportions of free and of slave labor :

*Imports of Free and of Slave Labor Sugar into the United States.¶*

Slave labor.	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849	Free Labor.	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849
From Cuba.	181,058,107	183,011,744	Sw. & Dan W.I.	2,734,970	2,695,899
other Sp.W.I.	47,778,973	51,483,166	Dh.E.I.,Hol. etc.	2,432,305	665,050
Brazil.	6,687,657	11,131,457	Hayti.	357,091	4,617
Dutch W. I.	513,977	737,855	Manilla, &c.	12,546,098	6,649,132
Gniana.	32,455	209,755	China.	352,032	1,060,372
Total slv. gr.	236,071,169	246,573,977	Br. W. I., &c.	2,096,683	1,292,761
“ free lab.	21,067,061	12,695,355	Other countries.	547,882	327,524
Excess sl. lb.	215,025,548	233,878,622	Total free labor.	21,067,061	12,695,355

The exports of domestic sugar from the United States is very limited, being for 1848 only 3,522,779 lbs., and for 1849 but 2,356,104 lbs.

Of the foreign imports, there were re-exported for 1848, 13,686,510, and for 1849, only 6,473,800 lbs. §

To arrive at the amount of the consumption of sugar in the United States, the quantity exported must be deducted from the amount of the *imports* and of the *domestic production*. In doing this, we have allowed the re-exports of foreign sugar all to have been of the *slave labor* production, and thus afford an advantage to the figures representing the *free labor* sugar consumed in the United States. Making these deductions, the following results are produced :

\* Ed. D. Mansfield, Esq., of Cincinnati Chronicle.

† See Census, 1840.

‡ Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Com. and Nav.

¶ Rep. Sec. Treas. U. S., on Com. and Nav.

§ The molasses imported into the United States, amounted, in 1849, to 23,796,806 gallons, of which only 756,339 gallons were of free labor. Of these imports 793,535 gals. were re-exported.

*Consumption of Cane Sugar in the United States.*

	lbs. 1848	lbs. 1849
Growth of the U. S., <i>less the exports</i> ,	216,477,221	277,402,896
Slave labor imports,      “      “	222,384,759	240,099,177
Slave labor Sugar consumed, U. S.,	438,861,980	517,502,073
Free labor Sugar,      “      “	21,067,061	12,695,355
Total Sugar consumption,	459,929,041	530,197,428
Excess of slave grown,      do.	417,794,919	504,806,718

The consumption of sugar in France, in 1848, was about 290,000,000 lbs. Of this quantity, 140,000,000 lbs. were of *beet root sugar*, produced in France. The production of *cane sugar* in the French colonies, in 1840, was 161,500,000 lbs.\* For the first nine months of 1847, they supplied to France 168,884,177 lbs., but for the same period of 1849, only 96,929,336 lbs., being a falling off, as heretofore stated, of 71,854,841 lbs. the first nine months after freedom.† The production of beet root sugar is increasing every year. A heavy duty upon foreign sugar nearly excludes it from the French market, and thus, since her emancipation act of 1848, France may be considered as *consuming very little slave grown sugar*.

We have been unable to procure the statistics of the production and consumption of sugar as fully as those of coffee and cotton.‡ But they are sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes. For England and the United States they are ample, but for the continent somewhat imperfect. The August number of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine contains a statement, from the House of EATON, SAFFORD & Fox, of Cuba, of the production and consumption of sugar throughout the world. Although imperfect in a few cases, it enables us to reach a close approximation to the amount of *slave and free labor sugars annually produced*. Taking the whole of the authorities we have consulted, and they warrant us in stating the production of slave grown sugars as follows:

Cuba and Porto Rico .....	672,000,000 lbs.
Brazil.....	268,000,000 “
United States .....	280,000,000 “
Total slave grown sugar.....	1,220,000,000 lbs.

This amount does not include the production of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and Guiana, where slavery still exists. The statement is *short* by that amount, and we have been unable to find it given separately from that of the Dutch East India possessions. Of this slave grown sugar England and the United States consume 663,502,000 lbs. annually. This leaves, of slave grown sugars for the continental countries of Europe, 556,498,000 lbs. The whole consumption of these countries, excepting France, but including Russia,

\* We are indebted to M. DUREAU, a French gentleman engaged in the collection of sugar statistics, for these facts. † See present Part, p. 115.

‡ In obtaining our cotton statistics, we have been much indebted to Mr. THOMAS FRANKLAND, of the Society of Friends, recently from England, whose acquaintance we made at the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, in Cincinnati.

Turkey, and Egypt, is estimated by Eaton, Safford & Fox, at 765, 375,000. From this, deduct the above balance of slave grown sugar, and there is left to be supplied by free labor, a demand of 208,877,000.

To determine the probable accuracy of the result last stated, we have taken the exports of *free labor sugar* from the British possessions, as determined by our former investigations, and those of the other sugar-producing countries, as estimated in the article in Hunt's Magazine. The result is as follows :

English possessions .....	583,024,000 lbs.
Holland possessions .....	120,000,000 "
Danish and Swedish possessions .....	20,000,000 "
German and Belgian, including <i>beet sugar</i> .....	30,000,000 "
Excess of production over consumption in the South American Republics, Egypt, and China.....	30,000,000 "
Total free labor sugar for European and United States consumption.....	783,024,000 lbs.
Deduct free labor sugar consumed by United States and England .....	577,289,000 "
Balance left for continent, exclusive of France.....	205,735,000 lbs.

But this statement of free labor sugar contains some of the *beet root* and all of the slave-grown sugar of the Dutch slave labor colonies. The estimates of Brazil, on the other hand, have no deduction for home consumption, so that the figures above given, no doubt represent, very nearly, the consumption of free and slave labor sugars on the continent.

We may now sum the whole results of our labors in one condensed table, so as to exhibit *the present relations of free labor to slave labor, and the indebtedness of the christian world to slavery* for these articles of prime necessity.

*Total consumption of Free Labor and of Slave Labor Cotton, Coffee, and Cane Sugar, by the countries named in the foregoing investigations.*

Countries consuming.	Slave labor lbs. cotton.	Free labor lbs. cotton.	Slave labor lbs. coffee.*	Free labor lbs. coffee.	Slave labor lbs. sugar.	Free labor lbs. sugar.
Great Britain.....	552,530,800	71,469,200	4,661,344	33,418,156	146,000,000	564,593,960
United States ....	270,000,000	.....	119,682,189	37,117,911	517,502,000	12,695,355
France.....	150,000,000	6,000,000	.....	.....	none.	150,000,000
Other continental countries .....	128,800,000	1,120,000	213,896,647	147,213,933	556,498,000	205,735,000
Total of each.....	1,101,330,800	78,589,200	338,240,000	217,800,000	1,220,000,000	933,024,315
Slave lbs. excess..	1,022,741,000	.....	120,440,000	.....	286,975,685	.....

\* Add the consumption of the United States to that of England, and deduct the amount from the total Slave Labor consumption, to find the amount of Slave Labor coffee consumed by France and the continent.

III. That the legislative measures adopted for the destruction of the slave trade and slavery, especially by England, have tended to increase and extend the evils they were designed to destroy.

In the outset of the investigations demanded to sustain this proposition, it is necessary to refer to the condition of slavery and the slave trade before measures had been taken to arrest their progress. The statistical tables, in the present lecture, show that the commercial prosperity of the English and French West India colonies had reached its maximum about the period when the first acts having reference to the removal of the oppressions which had afflicted the African people, were adopted by these governments. England's act, prohibiting the slave trade, was passed in 1807, and took effect in 1808. In



1805 and 1806, the exports of sugar from Jamaica were over 230,000,000 lbs.,\* for each year, and from the whole English West Indies, it was about 636,000,000 lbs. The article of sugar is referred to, because it is the principal one exported from these islands. From 1827 to 1831, the period preceding the emancipation of the English West India slaves, the exports of sugar from these colonies were reduced to an annual average of 448,665,520 lbs., *or nearly one-third*, and from Jamaica alone, from 1829 to 1833, to 152,564,800 lbs., *† or more than one-third*. This was twenty-five years after the prohibition of the slave trade, when ample time to show its effects had elapsed. The act of emancipation was passed in 1833, took effect in 1834, and the freedom of the slaves was perfected in 1838.

The effect of emancipation was a still farther reduction of the exports from these colonies—the whole exports, in 1848, being only 313,506,112 lbs., *‡ or more than one-half less* than in 1807, and Jamaica itself but 67,539,200 lbs., *or nearly three-fourths less* than in 1807.

The first direct act of the French, in reference to African freedom, was the proclamation of General Le Clerc,§ in 1802, proclaiming liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of Hayti, without regard to color. The exports of sugar from that island in 1790, were 163,318,810 lbs. || Its prosperity was at once greatly impaired by the revolution, and at present its exports of sugar are almost nothing.

Had a reduction of the quantity of sugar, coffee, or cotton, consequent upon the suppression of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves, been the only effects of these efforts to benefit the African race, the world would have submitted to the sacrifice without a murmur, because the present *cheap* and *abundant* supplies of these articles would have been unknown. But far different from the results anticipated, were the consequences of these measures upon the welfare of the African people. We shall proceed to trace them.

England and the United States, in prohibiting the slave trade, did but obey the dictates of a moral power emanating from a philanthropic public sentiment. It was an act demanded by the Christian principle of these countries. But in the plan of its execution, we have lamentable evidence of the limited wisdom and foresight of man in grappling with evils of great magnitude.

In 1808, when the slave trade was prohibited by England and the United States, Africa was annually losing 35,000\* of her population by the slave trade. Of this number 19 per cent. perished in the middle passage, making available, to the slave purchasers, 77,000 slaves. But the discontinuance of the slave trade, by these two powers, by no means *diminished* the evil sought to be destroyed. *From that day the export of slaves from Africa increased*, and from 1810 to 1815, she was robbed yearly of 93,000 of her population; and

\* See present Part, pages 116 and 135.

† See present Part, p. 113.

‡ lb.

§ lb. p. 111.

|| lb. p. 114.

from 1815 to 1819 of 106,000 annually. Of the latter, 25 per cent. perished in the "middle passage," so that out of 106,000 torn from Africa, but 79,400 reached the planters, or only 2,400 more than they had obtained when the exports from Africa were but 85,000. With the exception of 1830 to 1835, the exports of slaves from Africa continued to increase until the close of 1839, when they reached the appalling number of 135,800 a year, with a continued loss of 25 per cent. of the number in their transportation.

The following tables, prepared by a select committee of the House of Commons, showing the state of the African slave trade with relation to America, for the last sixty years, convey a clear view of the state of this traffic during that period.\*

*Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840.*

DATE	Am't of Slaves Exported.	Average casual- ties during the Voyage.		Slaves imported into Spanish colonies.	Imported into Portuguese colonies.	Imported into other countries.	Total amount of slaves imported.
		Av'rg pr'p'ri- tion.	Am't.				
In 1788 . . . . .	100,000	14 p. c.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000
1798 to 1805	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000
1815 to 1817	106,600	25 "	26,600	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000
1817 to 1819	106,600	25 "	26,600	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000
1819 to 1825	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200
1825 to 1830	125,000	25 "	31,000	40,000	50,000	4,000	94,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25 "	19,600	40,000	15,000	3,900	58,900
1835 to 1840	135,800	25 "	33,900	29,000	65,000	7,900	101,900

*Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1840 to 1848.*

DATE.	Am't of slaves expt'd.	Average casualties during the voyage.		Slaves import- ed into Spanish colonies	Import- ed into Brazil.	Captur- ed by cruis'rs.	Total amount of slaves import'd.
		Average proportion	Am't.				
1840	64,114	25 pr cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48 086
1841	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823
1842	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300
1843	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297
1844	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577
1845	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569
1846	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088
1847	84,356	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	68,267

\* Westminster Review, 1850, p. 263.

But why this disastrous defeat of the benevolent designs of England and the United States, in their efforts to suppress the slave trade? The question is easily answered. The diminution of the exports from the British West Indies, being more than one-half, equaled a loss of 420,000 of her former 800,000 slaves. France had lost *three-fifths*\* of her annual colonial supplies of sugar and other products, in the emancipation, or death by war, of her 480,000 slaves in Hayti.† The 163,300,000‡ lbs. of sugar lost by these events, had to be supplied to France by increased production in her remaining colonies. This required an additional amount of labor, equaling what had been rendered unavailable in Hayti, or 480,000 men; and this number, added to England's equivalent loss of 420,000, making in all 900,000 slaves, *had to be procured from Africa, and to be renewed every seven years.*§

Following the example of France, Spain and Portugal immediately commenced extending their cultivation, in Cuba and Brazil, by a vigorous prosecution of the slave trade. They were encouraged in the execution of this design, in the opening markets created for their products by the diminishing exports of the English and French colonies. The withdrawal of the English and American slave merchants from the African coast, removed all rivalry, except that of France; and in a little over thirty years, slave grown products increased nearly three-fourths above what they had been when the slave trade was prohibited.||

These facts being stated, it is easily seen why the slave trade should have increased with such rapidity, and to such an amazing extent. For each slave emancipated by England and France, who refused to labor as he had done while a slave, (for which no man will blame him, but which, it was predicted, he would do out of *gratitude* to his benefactor,) another had to be obtained from Africa to make up the loss to commerce.

But in addition to the *diminished* supply of tropical products, occasioned by the prohibition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, there has been a vastly *increased consumption* of some of the commodities upon which slave labor has been employed; and, as before remarked, all this rapidly increasing demand had to be supplied by slave labor. Hence, the enormous increase of the slave trade, notwithstanding the efforts made for its suppression.

But where was the error, in the legislation by England, on this subject? It was in this: She should, before taking any action herself, have obtained the consent of the other European powers, to unite in disallowing the slave trade to their subjects. At that day some of the articles now so profitably employing slave labor, were comparatively unimportant to commerce. People, then, were more desirous of escaping from the evils of slavery than they are at present, and

\* Present Part, p. 111.    † Ib.    ‡ Ib. p. 118.    § Ib. p. 114.

|| See Part First, p. 42, for McQueen's statement of this fact.

efficient measures for emancipation could have been more easily executed.

But England's first act of philanthropy was done at a moment when her *manufacturing* operations were rapidly growing up into great *national interests*, that could not be checked or dispensed with, and the ultimate importance of which could not then be foreseen. While, therefore, on the one hand, she was afterward pleading the cause of humanity, and urging the abandonment of the slave trade and of slavery, upon other nations; on the other, her own *diminishing supplies* of tropical products, and *increasing cotton manufactures and sugar consumption*, were creating, at home and abroad, that *increasing demand for slave labor products*, which supplied the chief aliment that sustained the foreign slave trade and foreign slave labor cultivation. And even when Great Britain partially succeeded, by *bonus*\* or by treaty, in gaining over a nation to her measures, alas! there was not that *virtuous public sentiment*, such as had existed in England and the United States, to act over upon that nation, and to encourage or impel it onward in the execution of its noble and humane engagements.

An outline of British legislation, in reference to the admission of tropical commodities to her markets, will show how effectually her *legislation at home* defeated *negotiation abroad*.

Up to 1844, the British colonies enjoyed a practical monopoly of the British markets. The duty on foreign sugar was 63 s. per cwt., on sugar the growth of her East India possessions and Mauritius, 37 s. per cwt., and on that of her West India Colonies, only 27 s. per cwt.† In 1844 the first inroad was made, the act taking effect in November of that year, by which foreign *free labor* sugar was admitted at a lower duty.‡ This act terminated the monopoly which the British colonies had in the markets of the mother country, and allowed the introduction of the free labor sugars of Java and Manilla for consumption in England; while Holland and Spain compensated themselves for the amount of their usual supplies thus diverted to a profitable market, by sending to Cuba and Brazil for a sufficient quantity of their cheaper slave labor sugar to make up the deficiency.§

In 1845, a general reduction of the sugar duties was made, which reduced the protection against foreign slave grown sugars one-half, and in 1846, the final act was passed, admitting all foreign sugars on advantageous terms. This act made a progressive reduction, during three years, of the duties on foreign sugar, until in 1849, when those on foreign and colonial were to become equal to each other.¶ In 1848 however, another act was passed by Parliament, postponing, for three years, the equalization of the duties to be levied on foreign and colo-

\* A bonus was paid to Portugal, in 1815, to conclude a treaty to abandon the slave trade, and near the same time, by a similar treaty with Spain, she received from England \$2,000,000, and afterward evaded her engagement.—Ed. Rev., July 1836.

† Westminster Rev. 1850, p. 276. ‡ London Economist, 1850, p. 85.

§ See Part first, p. 41. ¶ Blackwood's Mag. 184. p. 5.



nial sugars, and thus, seemingly, affording a slight protection to the colonies until 1854. But the difference in duties, owing to the manner in which the scale is arranged, and the greater cheapness of slave-labor cultivation, makes the law afford only a nominal protection and be of little practical value. The duties, per cwt., on foreign and colonial sugars, stand as follows since the last enactment, and will be equal on all kinds in July, 1854.†

MUSCOVADOS.																		
	To 5 July, 1850.			To 5 July, 1851.			To 5 July, 1852.			To 5 July, 1853.			To 5 July, 1854.			Fr'm 5 July, 1854.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
British	0	11	0	0	11	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0
Foreign	0	17	0	0	15	6	0	14	0	0	13	0	0	12	0	0	10	0
WHITE CLAYED.																		
British	0	14	0	0	12	10	0	11	8	0	11	8	0	11	8	0	11	8
Foreign	0	19	10	0	18	1	0	16	4	0	15	2	0	14	0	0	11	8
WHITE REFINED.																		
British	0	16	0	0	14	8	0	13	4	0	13	4	0	13	4	0	13	4
Foreign	1	4	8	1	2	8	1	0	8	0	19	4	0	17	4	0	13	4
MOLASSES.																		
British	0	4	6	0	4	2	0	3	9	0	3	9	0	3	9	0	3	9
Foreign	0	6	4	0	5	9	0	5	3	0	4	10	0	4	6	0	3	9

The immense falling off in the exports of the British West India colonies, which had taken place after emancipation, and the impossibility of her East India possessions supplying the deficiency, left the government of Great Britain no other alternative but a reduction of the sugar duties, and *the admission of slave grown sugar*. A struggle to stimulate West India industry had been continued thirteen years, from 1833 to 1846, resulting only in taxing the English people *by protective duties*, \$150,000,000‡ more than the consumers of other countries had paid for an equal quantity of sugar, and the effort had to be abandoned.

For many years her West India colonies had supplied to England more sugar than was necessary for home consumption, allowing the government to force off that of her East India possessions into other markets, by a differential duty of 10 shillings the cwt. in favor of her West Indies. But in 1846, her own consumption of sugar was 609,781,760 lbs.,§ and the total exports of all her West India colonies only 277,252,400 lbs.,|| and with that of the East Indies and Mauritius added, but 501,061,904 lbs.,¶ an amount, even if England received it all, not sufficient for her home consumption by 108,119,856 lbs. By this result the whole field of the foreign markets, *formerly supplied with English sugar*, was left open for that of slave labor products.

The impulse given to the efforts of other nations, in the prosecution of the slave trade, when it was abandoned by England and the United States, received no check, as is shown by the foregoing

† Westminster Rev. 1850, p. 276.

‡ Westminster Rev. 1850, p. 275.

|| Present Part, p. 113.

§ Present Part, p. 129.

¶ Present Part, p. 130.

table,\* until 1830, when a reduction of the price of sugar from 44s. 6d. the cwt. to 24s. 8d., diminished the export of slaves from Africa 37 per cent. But this depression lasted only during the time that the price of sugar continued at that reduced rate. In 1836, sugar again rose to 29s. 3d. the cwt., and gave an impetus to the slave trade that increased the export of slaves from Africa 73 per cent., or to 135,800 per annum from that till the close of 1839.†

But 1840 constitutes an epoch in the history of the slave trade, because, during that year, the first successful check was given to it, and the hope created that it could be annihilated. From that period until 1847, the varying results will be found in the foregoing Parliamentary tables. By the first table it will be seen, that the African slave trade had reached its maximum from 1835 to 1839, when the average annual exports were 135,800, and that in 1840 it was suddenly reduced to 64,114.

This reduction was effected through the unwearied efforts of England, stimulated, in a great measure, it is believed, by the commercial considerations referred to in our first Lecture. Be this as it may, by her influence, the authorities of Brazil, in 1840 and 1841, made the attempt to suppress the slave trade, and the effect was immediate.‡ General Espartero being in power in Spain, also acted in good faith in the execution of the conditions of the treaty with England, and appointed General Valdez, Governor of Cuba. When Valdez entered upon his duties, the imports of slaves into Cuba were about 14,000 annually. The first year of his government reduced the imports 8,000; and in 1842, the last year, the number imported was only 3,100 men.§ Political changes occurring, the plans of these governments were soon abandoned, and the increasing demand for slave grown products, which was soon after created, by their admission into the English markets, gave renewed activity to that traffic, increasing it, in 1847, to within a trifle of what it was from 1798 to 1810, and in 1848 and 1849, it is believed, to an extent nearly equal to what it has been at any former period.||

With these facts before us, a true conception can be formed of the past and present condition of the slave trade.

It is evident that if England could have persisted in her exclusion of slave grown products from her markets, and could have rejected such free labor products as would have been replaced in other markets by an equivalent of those of slave labor origin, that a death-blow would have been given to the slave trade, and, in its suppression, to the slavery of Cuba and Brazil. But, unfortunately, at the moment when negotiation abroad, combined with *protective duties* at home, had enabled England to reduce the exports of slaves from Africa, in 1845, to 36,758, and the imports into Brazil to 22,700; the clamor in England, for a full supply of sugar, forced the government, first

\* See table, present part, p. 135. † London Times, 1849.

‡ Speech of Sir R. Peel in British Parliament, 1844. § Ibid.

|| Westminster Review, 1850, p. 265, states that the imports of slaves into Brazil in 1848 were 72,000, a larger number than at any former period.

to admit free labor sugar, and next, through the predominance of *free-trade principles*, slave labor sugar also. These acts at once opened up a market of such importance to countries employing slave labor, that an irresistible impetus was given to the slave trade, stimulating those engaged in it to break through every treaty stipulation, and bid defiance to all the physical force that can be arrayed against them.

It was the advancing demand for slave grown products, created by the causes before stated, that made it impossible for the governments of Spain and Brazil to act in good faith in the suppression of the slave trade. Governments cannot go much in advance of the public sentiment of their people, nor can they long remain much behind it. The positions of England and the United States, on the slave trade, were the result of the correct moral sentiment existing among their people. But the people of Spain and Brazil, governed only by commercial considerations, and not by motives of philanthropy or the principles of equity, looked only to the profits to be made by continuing the slave trade, and cared nothing for the amount of human woe induced, if they could but amass fortunes to themselves. These governments, therefore could not resist the tide of public sentiment; and their policy being changed, a rapidly-increasing flood of misery has continued to roll on, wave after wave, until humanity shudders at beholding the dark and dismal deluge continually dashing in upon the shores of the southern portion of our continent.

That the legislative measures adopted for the suppression of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, have tended to increase and extend the evils they were designed to destroy, is not an opinion of recent origin, but one of very general belief in England. The present is, perhaps, the first effort to classify the facts and demonstrate the proposition. But that British legislation directly tended to this result, has been frequently asserted, by many of the most intelligent Englishmen, with great positiveness; and more than this, it was predicted, with equal positiveness, by men who understood human nature better than those controlling the movement, that their measures would certainly produce the results which have followed. In proof of this we need only quote a few paragraphs. The first is one embracing predictions of the consequences that would follow the adoption of the course of legislation proposed. It will be found in the *Westminster Review*, 1849.

"We cannot abolish slavery and the slave trade—we can only clear ourselves of them; and we may clear ourselves of them, saying we are abolishing them, in a way to strengthen them. It is not abolishing them to shift them from the West Indies to Cuba. By our way of ridding ourselves of slavery, we are making slaves more valuable and the slave trade more profitable, and increasing the interest of all other nations in buying, and selling, and keeping slaves. We shall pay \$100,000,000, and millions on millions besides, in the price of sugar and loss of capital for confirming slavery and the slave trade. To expect other nations to follow our example by

making it their interest not to do it, is not very wise. The way to abolish slavery is to make it contrary to the interest of the slave-dealer and slaveholder."

The remaining paragraphs are confirmatory of our proposition, and are from sources entitled to great respect.

"Fifteen years ago we thought we had done with the slave trade and slavery. But these odious subjects come back to us. The dark specters are not laid. One hundred and forty millions is the estimate of the sum of money spent to destroy them. Hundreds of associations, thousands of committees, public speeches, sermons, prayers, &c., &c., &c., have all been used as exorcisms to lay the specters of the bondage and the traffic which degrade men to the level of domestic animals. Our poorer people have been deprived of comforts which would have sweetened, literally and figuratively, their existence, because we would deal heroically with slavery and the slave trade. The chains of the negro have long been broken in marble. The fame of many renowned names have been won by feats of eloquence and zeal in this sacred cause. We celebrated many victories over the iniquity. But lo! slavery and the slave trade are stronger than ever, and more horrific than ever. On this subject, England has done two noble things, and committed two blunders. The nobleness has been ethical, and the blunders have been economical. Narrowness has been the source of the evils. Christian ethics had highly cultivated the consciences of the abolitionists, but they were ignorant of economical science."\*

After referring to the modifications of the sugar duties, by Parliament, and the scarcity of the supplies of sugar in the French markets consequent upon emancipation in Hayti, Blackwood's Magazine says:†

"To provide against the evidently approaching crisis in the supply of sugar in the British market, we have thrown open our harbors to *slave-grown sugar* from every quarter of the globe; and from the rapid decline in the West India Islands, even before this last *coup-de-grace* was given them by the application of free-trade principles to their produce, it is painfully evident that a result precisely similar (to what occurred in Hayti,) is about to take place in the British colonies. And it is little consolation to find that this injustice has recoiled upon the heads of the nation which perpetrated it, and that the decline in the consumption of British manufactures by the West India islands is becoming proportioned to the ruin we have inflicted on them.

"But most of all has this concatenation of fanaticism, infatuation, and injustice proved pernicious to the negro race, for whose benefit the changes were all undertaken. Happy would it have been for them if the British *slave trade* had never been abolished; and they had crossed the Atlantic chiefly in Liverpool or Glasgow slave-ships, and been brought to the British West India Islands! For then the

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\* Westminster Review, Oct. 1849.

† January, 1843, p. 6, 7.



slave trade was subject to our direction, and regulations might have been adopted to place it upon the best possible footing for its unhappy victims. But *now* we have thrown it entirely into the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese, over whom we have no sort of control, and who exercise it in so frightful a manner that the heart absolutely sickens at the thought of the amount of human suffering *at the cost of which we have reduced the price of sugar to sixpence a pound.* Compared with it, the English slave-ships and English slavery were an earthly paradise. Mr. Buxton, the great anti-slavery advocate, admitted, some years ago, that the "number of blacks who now cross the Atlantic, is *double what it was* when Wilberforce and Clarkson first began their benevolent labors."\* *Now*, under the fostering influence of free-trade in sugar, it may reasonably be expected that in a few years, *the whole*, or nearly the whole sugar consumed by Europe, will be raised by the slave colonies, and wrung by the lash from the most wretched species of slaves—those of Cuba and Brazil! Moreover, the slave trade, to supply them, will be *triple* what it was in 1789, when the movement in favor of the negro population began! Thus, by the combined effects of fanaticism, ignorance, presumption, and free trade, we shall have succeeded, by the middle of this century, in totally destroying our own sugar colonies; adding, to no purpose, \$100,000,000 to our national debt; annihilating property to the amount of \$650,000,000 in our own (colonial) domains; doubling the produce of foreign slave possessions; cutting off a market of \$17,500,000 a year for our manufactures; and tripling the slave trade in extent, and quadrupling it in horror, throughout the globe."

Another writer specifies more fully the effects of these measures.†

"The impulse which the government act of 1846 has given to the slave trade in every part of the world, is something perfectly enormous; but its mischievous and inhuman effects will be best understood by a reference to ascertained facts. Prior to 1846, the traffic in slaves between the African coast and the Spanish colonies had been gradually declining, and had in fact almost disappeared. The exclusion of slave-grown sugars from our home market had nearly forced the Cuban proprietors into a different system, and arrangements were pending in that Colony for the emancipation of the slaves, just at the time Lord John Russell came forward in favor of the chain and the lash, and all was changed. "The value of field negroes in Cuba had risen (in the course of the two years, from 1846 to 1848) from 300 to 500 dollars each, a price that would speedily bring a supply from the coast." "We will not, forsooth, permit foreign nations to traffic in slaves, and yet we give them the monopoly of our market, knowing all the while that upon that importation alone we are dependant for a cheap supply—*cheap sugar means cheap slaves.*" "Why did we destroy that market in Jamaica which we so eagerly sieze in

\* Buxton on the Slave trade, p. 172.

† Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1848, p. 235, 236

Brazil?" "Great Britain, after forcing the Emancipation Act on her colonies, and in the most solemn manner announcing, in a voice of thunder, her future determined opposition to the existence of the traffic in slaves, at once took a course which made her the customer of less scrupulous countries, and the largest encourager of that odious traffic in the world, thus ruining her own colonies."

Quotations of similar expressions of opinion might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough have been given. It may be added, however, that the North British Review, in a careful digest of the evidence contained in the six Reports on the Slave Trade and Slavery, made to Parliament, within the last two years, is led to this conclusion: That England's coercive measures have not merely failed to check the supply of slaves to Brazil, but that, on the other hand, they have had the effect of greatly aggravating the horrors of the middle passage, and the sufferings endured by the negroes in the barracoons on the coast of Africa, as well as very materially prejudicing the interests of British merchants trading to that country. This failure of the coercive policy for the suppression of the slave trade, the Reviewers contend, "results from its unsoundness in principle."

IV. That the governments named, cannot hope to escape from the necessity of consuming the products of slave labor, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.

In the discussion of our first proposition, we proved that the tropical countries, where slavery has been abolished, have failed to furnish to commerce, since emancipation, an amount of products equal to what they had previously supplied. In discussing some of the other propositions, it appeared that the whole free labor exports from the Asiatic portion of the Eastern Hemisphere, added to those of the Western, had fallen far short of supplying the demands of Europe and America. It also appeared that to this cause was principally due the vast increase of the slave trade during the present century.

To sustain our fourth proposition, it will be necessary to show, that the free labor to which we have referred, cannot be so stimulated as to make it sufficiently productive *to compete with, and displace,* the fruits of slave labor in the markets of the world.

When the *non-progressive* character of the population of Pagan countries is considered, but little aid will be expected from the Asiatic portion of the Eastern Hemisphere,\* in efforts to make free labor compete with slave labor, in tropical cultivation. The inquiries into this subject, may, therefore, be confined to the Western Hemisphere. To understand the relations which the free labor and the slave labor, of this hemisphere, bear to each other, and the capability of the first to compete with the last, it is necessary to state the proportion which the number of persons of the one class bear to those of the other.

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\*Present Part, p. 121.

The amount of the population of the English and French West India Colonies, emancipated from slavery, has been already stated,\* and comprehends nearly the whole of the free labor employed in the cultivation of the commodities we have been considering. Estimating the increase of the population of Hayti, since emancipation, at 40 per cent., and that of the English colonies at 20 per cent., will give them a present population of 1,400,000. To this must be added the persons emancipated by France, in 1848, making the total free labor forces, within the limits under consideration, about 1,657,000 persons. Against this free population there is arrayed the following number of slaves: †

United States,.....	3,252,000
Brazil,.....	3,250,000
Spanish Colonies,.....	900,000
Dutch Colonies,.....	85,000
South American Republics,.....	140,000
African Settlements,.....	30,000
Total slave population,.....	7,657,000
Free labor do. above stated,.....	1,657,000
Excess of slave population,.....	6,000,000

Of the number of slaves in the United States, about 1,000,000 are in States which do not produce cotton and sugar. Deducting these, will leave 6,657,000 slaves arrayed against 1,657,000 free persons, or 5,000,000 more slaves than freemen.

These figures testify, with unequivocal distinctness, that the free population, above named, cannot be made to compete with the slave population, in tropical cultivation. In addition to the immense disparity of numbers, a moment's consideration will make it evident, that, even were their numbers equal, the circumstances under which the people, *called free*, are placed, would still make it impossible to stimulate them to such a degree of industry, that their *voluntary* labor would be equally productive with the *compulsory* labor of the slaves.

A very brief examination will show, that this is not an exaggerated view of the condition of the people under consideration. In referring to Hayti, we need only direct attention to a preceding table‡ as an index of its industry, and to our second lecture|| for a correct view of its social and moral condition. The other French colonies, in nine months of their first year of freedom, have diminished their exports of sugar, nearly 72,000,000 lbs.§

The British West Indies, it may safely be said, have a free population whose industry cannot be made to compete with even an equal amount of slave labor. In addition to the extensive array of facts

\* Present Part, p. 112.

† Tenth Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We add for Texas only 22,000, and estimate the other States up to 1850, at 3 per cent. per annum, since 1840. But Texas has at least 40,000.

‡ Page 11

|| Pages 42, 43.

§ Present Part, p. 115.

submitted in the present and former lectures, the public have recently been supplied with much new and important information from Jamaica, by Mr. Bigelow, one of the editors of the New York Evening Post, a leading Anti-Slavery paper.

This gentleman has recently visited Jamaica, and made a careful examination of its condition. He represents industry as at the lowest ebb; and that the downward tendencies of the island cannot be more rapid than at present. A degrading estimate is put upon labor, and a white man is never seen at work upon the estates. The blacks, "with the average sequence of negro logic, infer that if gentlemen never work, they have only to abstain from work to be gentlemen." In the city of Kingston, he says, one looks and listens in vain for the noise of carts and the bustle of busy men; no one seems to be in a hurry; but few are doing anything; while the mass of the population are lounging about in idleness and rags. Nor is there any present hope that these habits of indolence will be abandoned; because there is absolutely nothing to stimulate the majority of the people to industry and to efforts for intellectual and moral advancement. The greater portion of the lands under cultivation is held by owners of immense estates, and but little encouragement is extended to the people to cultivate small tracts, because this policy would draw off the labor from the sugar estates. The property qualification of voters is fixed so high as to exclude the mass of the people from any participation in the government of the island, or in the enactment of the laws that are to control them. Out of a population in Jamaica, of 400,000, of whom 16,000 are white, the average vote of the island has never exceeded 3,000. The center of legislative control is in London, and the members of the colonial legislature are mere shadows, destitute of the vital functions of legislators. The veto power of the governor, who is appointed by the Queen, enables him practically to control all legislation. The enormous property qualification required to make a man eligible to a seat in the legislature, excludes all but the landholders from that body. By this arrangement all the energies of legislation are exerted to promote the growth and sale of sugar and rum. In addition to other depressing influences, young men of moderate means, or who are poor, cannot reach the profession of the law, because none can practice at the bar except such as have pursued their studies in England, and been admitted there. So little do those who control public affairs, comprehend the principles of human action, that though wages are only 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 25 cents a day, (the laborer *boarding himself*,) the planters all imagine that a *reduction of wages* is essential to the revival of agricultural prosperity.

Such are the disadvantages under which these poor, oppressed Africans labor in the West Indies, and such the utter hopelessness of their being able to make much progress, that, next to their brethren yet in slavery, they demand, and should receive, the sympathies of the christian world.

It would have been difficult to convince the world, that such utter ruin, as has occurred in Jamaica, could have been produced by any



course of legislation. But Mr. Bigelow reveals facts upon this subject that are truly astounding. He says:

"Since 1832, out of the six hundred and fifty-three sugar estates then in cultivation more than one hundred and fifty have been abandoned and broken up. This has thrown out of cultivation over 200,000 acres of *rich land*, which, in 1832, gave employment to about 30,000 laborers, and yielded over 25,600,000 lbs. of sugar, and over 6,000 puncheons of rum. During the same period, over five hundred coffee plantations have also been abandoned and their works broken up. This threw out of cultivation over 200,000 acres more of land, which in 1832 required the labor of over 30,000 men."

An estate formerly selling for \$90,000, in 1845, sold for \$5,000. Another, which once cost an equal sum, has been offered by its present owners for \$7,500, and finding no purchaser, was abandoned. A multitude of such cases are embraced in Mr. Bigelow's letters, showing a general prostration of the commercial interests of the island. That an over-crowding of population can have no influence in checking the prosperity of Jamaica, is proved by the fact, that out of her 4,000,000 acres of land, all being of the most fertile kind, not over 500,000 acres have been brought under cultivation, or even appropriated.

The low state of civilization, leaves the population of the British West Indies with few wants. It is asserted that the people of these islands are enabled to live in comfort, and acquire wealth, without, for the most part, laboring on the estates of the planters, for more than *three or four days in the week, and from five to seven hours in the day*, so that they have no stimulant to perform an adequate amount of labor.\*

This condition of things puts it out of the power of the planters to produce sugar for less than £20 per ton, on the average, while the cost in slave countries is only £12† per ton.

This discloses the fact that the planters of Cuba, employing *slave labor*, can manufacture sugar for £8 the ton *less* than those of Jamaica can produce it by *free labor*. As one of the immediate results of this condition of things, it was asserted in 1848, that "the great influx of slave-grown produce into the English markets has, in the short space of six months, reduced the value of sugar from £26 to £14 per ton; while, under ordinary circumstances of soil and season, the cost to us of placing it in the market is not less than £20 per ton."‡

It is well, here, to explain why it is that the duties on foreign sugar afford no real protection to the English West India planter.

"The slave sugars are all so much better manufactured, which the great command of labor enables them to do, that, to the refiner, they are intrinsically worth more than ours. In short, they prepare their sugars, whereas we cannot do so, and we pay duty at the same rate on an article which contains a quantity of molasses. *So that, if the*

\* Blackwood's Mag. 1848. p. 227.

† Ib. p. 230.

‡ Blackwood's Mag. 1848, p. 230. Resolutions of a meeting at St. David's, Jamaica.

duties were equalized, there would virtually be a bonus on the importation of foreign sugar. The refiners estimate the value of Havanna, in comparison with West India free sugar, as from three to five shillings per cwt. better in point of color and strength. The reason is, that these sugars are partially refined or *clayed*.”\*

The relation in which foreign sugars stand to colonial, in the markets of England, taking into account the protective duties, will be clearly seen by the following statement of the cost of production of each, with the duties added, and an allowance made for the *extra value* of the Cuban sugar over that of the English colonies, taking the period from July, 1850 to July, 1851 :

British Muscovado costs planters per ton, .....	£20 00s.	
Duty on do. per ton, .....	11 00	
Total cost in market,.....	£31 00s.	
Cuban Muscovado, do. per ton, .....	£12 00s.	
Duty, per ton, .....	15 10	27 10
Balance in favor Cuban planter, .....	3 10s	
Add <i>extra value</i> of Cuban sugar, £4 per ton, .....	4 00	
Slave labor advantage over free labor, .....	£7 10s.	

By reference to the table of duties, on a preceding page, it will be seen that if the present relations of the cost of production shall be maintained, when the duties become equalized, slave labor will have an advantage in the English market, if no change occurs in the duties, of £12 the ton.† The duty on both kinds will be, in 1854, 10s. the cwt. or £10 the ton, and the extra value of Cuban sugar being the same, the profits of the slave labor sugar will be £12 the ton as above stated, viz :

Cost of production of free labor, per ton, .....	£20 00s.	
Duty on do. per ton, .....	10 00	
Cost in market to planter, .....	£30 00s.	
Cost of slave labor, do. ....	£12 00s.	
Duty on do., .....	10 00	22 00
Surplus profit of slave labor, .....	8 00s.	
Extra value of do., .....	4 00	
Total excess of profit to slaveholder, .....	£12 00s.	

Who cannot see that such advantages as the Cuban and Brazilian slaveholders now possess, may enable them to banish free labor sugars from the English markets ! But to gain a clear understanding of the reason why the slaveholding planters of Cuba, Brazil, &c., can produce sugar at a cost so much lower than those of Jamaica, and other free labor tropical countries, it is necessary again to call attention to the difference in their ability to command labor. In the former countries, not including the United States, the planters can command

\* Blackwood's Mag. 1848, p. 230.

† The estimates have been made for Muscovadoes only, and the expenso of freights not included.

the labor of a slave population of 4,100,000, while the latter have only 1,657,000.\* It must be noticed, also, that this slave population is compelled, under the lash, to perform a full day's work every day in the week, and that in crop time the labor is often extended to eighteen hours per day; † while the free men of Jamaica, &c., ignorant, depressed, and discouraged, *by unequal laws*, content themselves with leisurely putting in from five to seven hours in the day, during only three or four days of the week.‡

We certainly need not add anything more in support of the proposition, that *free labor*, under present circumstances, *cannot compete with slave labor in tropical cultivation*, and that, therefore, christian governments cannot escape from the necessity of consuming slave labor products, except by calling into active service, on an extensive scale, the free labor of countries not at present producing the commodities upon which slave labor is employed.

V. That Africa is the principal field where free labor can be made to compete, successfully, with slave labor, in the production of exportable tropical commodities.

To demonstrate the truth of this proposition it is demanded; *First*, that it be shown that the soil and climate of Africa are well adapted to the production of Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton; and *Second*, that the natives can be successfully employed in their cultivation.

In relation to the *first* point, there is no longer any doubt among intelligent men. *Coffee*, equal, if not superior, to that of Java or Mocha, is raised in Liberia, and can be easily cultivated to any extent. The shrub bears fruit thirty or forty years, each producing ten pounds annually. *Cotton*, of a superior quality, yielding *two crops a year*, is indigenous, and thrives twelve or fourteen years without renewing the plant. *Sugar Cane* grows in unrivaled luxuriance; and, as there are no *frosts* to be dreaded, can be brought to much greater perfection than in our Southern States.§ Other articles of great value are raised in Liberia, but it is unnecessary to specify them, or to enlarge this branch of our investigations; as Dr. J. W. *Lugenbeel*, late United States Agent, in Liberia, and Superintendent of the Medical School of the Colony is publishing a series of essays upon the subject. The Doctor resided five or six years in Africa, and had an excellent opportunity for employing his eminent talents to examine the Geography, the Productions, the Climate, as well as the Diseases of the New Republic. His essays embrace all these topics, and afford ample information, in relation to Liberia, for all who wish to learn the facts.

On the *second* point much information has been collected, and it is no longer doubted in Liberia, that the labor of natives can be made available. The Colony numbers about 150,000 souls. || Many

\* Present Part, p. 144.

† Second Part, p. 92.

‡ Present Part, p. 146.

§ African Repository, July, 1850

|| President Roberts' message to Liberia Legislature, Dec., 1849.

of these natives are becoming industrious, by the example of the colonists, and the desire to possess the comforts of civilized life. Some are partially educated, and one, a few years ago, occupied a seat in the Legislature. Many of them have married persons born in the United States, and thereby become more identified with the citizens of the Republic. The colonists, of ability, can secure, from the natives, all the labor necessary, *at very low wages*. This is now so well understood as to discourage those emigrants, from the United States, who desire to go *as day laborers*.

Mr. ED. J. ROYE, a merchant of Monrovia, fully confirms this statement, in a letter to Mr. W. H. Burnham, of Zanesville, Ohio. He mentions it as the chief discouragement to emigrants dependent upon labor for a subsistence, but adds, that many of the poor Americans in the colony "are already turning their attention to farming, which pays well." "To men of character, education, wealth, and enterprise, nothing can be considered beyond their reach, and no station, in the Republic, too high to be attained."\*

At first view this seems disheartening to the poor colored man; but to discerning men, Liberia presents stronger claims on this account. Mr. Roye's statement proves two things important to Europe and America. 1. That native labor can be had *cheap*. 2. That those emigrants who engage in agriculture, can do well.

What is most important to elevate and ennoble the poor emigrant, is, to forget the days of his bondage, stand erect as a freeman, and depend alone upon the strength of his own arm, and the blessing of God. Cringing to others unmans him. To place him in circumstances which will force him to agricultural or mechanical pursuits, is best calculated to create in his breast a feeling of manly independence. And, God willing, this is what Colonizationists are determined to do for the free colored people of the United States.

The desire to possess the commodities supplied by the commerce of civilized nations is evidently much stronger in the people of Africa, even where the influence of the Colonies is but little felt, than in those of any other barbarous country. This desire has been generated by the slave trade, and is the principal obstacle to its suppression. Having no fruits of agricultural labor to offer for the articles they desire, *slave hunts* are made the means of procuring slaves to give in exchange. And such is the strength with which this desire for traffic with foreigners operates, and such their unwillingness to be deprived of it, that in the late purchase of Gallinas, when the chiefs sold their territory to President Roberts, they expressly stipulated for the establishment of commerce upon a permanent basis. They knew very well that the slave trade was to cease from that moment, and, as an equivalent, demanded, not only a large sum of money, but that commissioners should be immediately appointed "to settle the wars in the country, (*because wars will now no longer be*

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\* This seems to have been prophetic language, as, since it was written, Mr. Roye has held a seat in the Legislature of Liberia, and been chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives.



useful when the captives taken cannot be sold,) and open the trades in Camwood, Ivory, and Palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also to settle among them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of instructing them in the arts of Husbandry.”\*

But can the native labor of Africa be made to compete with the slave labor of other tropical countries, and supply the christian world with that immense amount of coffee, sugar, and cotton, it now consumes? This is the great question. If the native be left, without the aid of foreign intelligence, to develop his intellectual and moral powers, he must remain fitted only for a life of slavery abroad, or of savage indolence at home. But if the Republic of Liberia be supplied with a sufficient number of industrious, intelligent, and moral emigrants, to enable it to extend its settlements and its laws around the coast, and into the interior, a few years only will elapse before the natives, coming under the influence of civilization, will experience such an increase of wants as can be supplied only by industry. What has already occurred in the present settlements of Liberia will follow in all new ones, and a spirit of industry be awakened as far and as rapidly as the colonization of the country shall be accomplished.

We have previously shown† that the stereotyped character of the Pagan nations of Eastern Asia, renders it difficult to stimulate the inhabitants to a much greater degree of industry than already exists, and that *such free labor* cannot compete with slave labor. Why, then, should we expect that the native labor of heathen Africa should be more available, and made to compete with slave labor? The answer to this question is obvious. Without the introduction of Christian civilization, *neither of them can progress*. But the humble African yields more readily to the instruction of the Christian missionary than the proud Asiatic. The hope of Africa's earlier civilization is, therefore, daily brightening, and the probability of exciting its inhabitants to industry becoming more certain.

We close this part of the inquiry by a quotation from the Annual Report of the American Missionary Association, for 1849, which not only affords an explanation of the causes that make Asia less accessible to the Gospel than Africa, but supplies additional testimony in regard to the adaptation of the soil of Africa to the production of sugar and cotton. This mission had its origin in the liberation, and return to Africa, of the *Amistad slaves*. It is located at Kaw-Mendi, on the Western coast of Africa, some distance from the sea, and lies between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The Rev. Mr. THOMPSON, once imprisoned in the Penitentiary of the State of Missouri, for aiding slaves to escape from their masters, is now at the head of this mission. This testimony is valuable, coming, as it does, from Abolitionists, from whom colonization in Africa has received but little countenance. The Report says:

“The sugar cane and cotton grow well in that country, and if American Christians could send out business men, who could teach

\* Letter of President Roberts, May 17, 1850.

† Page 121.

natives the manufacture of sugar, and the best method of raising cotton, it would contribute much to the overthrow of slavery, and facilitate the progress of the gospel. 'The mission makes earnest appeals for such assistance.'" The Report also says, that "Africa presents some peculiar advantages for missionary work, and some strong claims upon American christians for help." It sums them up as follows :

"1. That country is nearer to us than any other foreign missionary field.

"2. The country is apparently open to us, and its governments will offer no serious opposition to our entering any part of it.

"3. The people see and appreciate the superiority of men in civilized life, and desire the cultivation which will raise them to the same grade.

"4. There is there, no hoary and venerated system of superstition, inwrought into the forms of society, and presenting at every point opposition to change.

"A reason more powerful, perhaps, than any other, to induce us to engage in this work, is the deep degradation of Africa, superinduced by the slave trade, in which Americans have taken so prominent a part."

Much additional testimony on this subject might be presented, but time will not permit. We shall, therefore, close our discussion of this proposition with a brief statement of the main facts by which its truth is sustained.

Could England and the United States be induced to engage energetically, to promote the growth of coffee, sugar, and cotton, in Africa, they would gain an immense advantage over the planters of Cuba and Brazil, and be able to strike an efficient blow at the slave trade and slavery. What are the facts?

For every 300 men made available, by the slave trade, to the Cuban and Brazillian planters, Africa loses 1,000;\* or the proportion may be stated as *three to ten*. In the transfer of the *three* to Cuba and Brazil, their constitutions are impaired by the "middle passage," and in seven years they sink beneath the oppressive labor to which they are subjected. Their places must be supplied, at least every seven years, by *three* others from Africa, subjecting her to the loss of another *ten*. At every point in Africa, occupied by a colony, the slave trade is at once excluded, and its agents are driven to other points to secure their victims. This will leave, at the places occupied, the whole *ten* men who had formerly been sacrificed to supply *three* to the Cuban planters.

Now, though the industry of the native African should fall far below the standard of the ever-active and enterprising *Anglo Saxon*; yet a little consideration will enable us to perceive that, under the circumstances, the native population of Africa will be able, not only to compete with *the slaves* of Cuba and Brazil, but will constitute *the only reliable force* for the suppression of the slave trade.

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\* Buxton, see Lecture First, p. 8.

The maximum of labor required of the *three* slaves in Cuba, is *eighteen hours a day*.\* By preventing the transfer of these *three* men, we shall have *ten* to employ in Africa. If these *ten* men can be induced to labor only *five hours and a half per day*, the product will more than equal that of the *three* in Cuba. The case would stand thus :

3 slaves in Cuba, laboring 18 hours per day	=	54 hours.
10 freemen in Africa    "    5½    "    "	=	55    "

The *ten* men in Africa, laboring but 5½ hours per day, would, therefore, be able to compete with the *three* in Cuba or Brazil.

The reason that Jamaica, or any of the other free labor colonies, cannot compete with Cuba, Brazil, &c., is, that the freemen of the former, either from indolent habits, or from attention to cultivating their own small tracts of land, or from being engaged in other pursuits, do not choose to labor for the sugar planters more than from *five to seven hours a day*, and from *three to four days in the week*.† It is not asserted, that while engaged, the free laborer does not perform as much work as a slave. The difficulty in Jamaica is, that the planters, out of the free population, *cannot find men enough*, to put in as many hours labor, as those of Cuba, by a free use of the whip, are able to obtain from their slaves. Laboring so irregularly, even were their numbers equal, it would be impossible for the 1,657,000 colored freemen of the Western Hemisphere to compete with the 7,657,000 slaves which it includes.‡ The difficulty in making the free labor of the British and French West Indies compete with the slave labor of Cuba and Brazil, arises, therefore, from the want of an equal number of hands willing to perform an equal amount of labor at an equal cost. The American Colonization Society has discovered that this discrepancy can be remedied by a direct attention to Africa, which shall call into activity, as free laborers, its 160,000,000 of people, as rivals, in tropical cultivation, to the before mentioned 7,657,000 slaves. But to obtain a clear conception of the *economical* advantages of employing the people of Africa *upon their own soil*, over that of transporting them to Cuba and Brazil, it must be recollected, that as soon as the *ten* men in Africa could be persuaded to labor *ten hours a day*, they would *double* the products of the *three* in Cuba. It must also be remembered, that the *ten*, remaining in their *native climate*, and *belonging to a race of the greatest longevity known*, could be relied upon as regular laborers, for a much longer period than the *three* enfeebled and overworked slaves of Cuba. This remark applies equally to the whole African population. Under these circumstances, it is certain that the free labor of Africa, under proper regulations and stimulants, can be made to compete with the slave labor of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies.

But there is another fact, of much importance, to be considered.

\* See Part Second, p. 92.

† Present Part, p. 146.

‡ Present Part, p. 143 to 147.

The slave population of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies, numbering 4,100,000, or more than one half of the whole number in the Western Hemisphere, is maintained alone by the slave trade. Destroy this trade, and their plantations would dwindle into insignificance, or become extinct. From the rapid mortality of the imported slaves, these plantations require restocking from Africa every seven years. Cut off this supply, and Cuba and Brazil would at once be rendered incapable of flooding the markets with cheap slave labor products, to the exclusion of free labor commodities.

We have seen that the exports from the British West Indies began to decline from the prohibition of the slave trade, in 1808, and reached their minimum since the emancipation in 1838.\* The diminution of the exports of coffee and sugar from the British and French West Indies, from the periods above stated, tended to increase slavery and encourage the slave trade.† The constantly increasing demand for these products must be supplied. Cuba and Brazil endeavored, by increasing their number of slaves, to supply the deficiency. This extended the slave trade, and it has continued to increase, with two or three slight variations, until the present moment.‡ Interrupt the kidnapping of slaves from Africa, and no new field can be found to supply the market. Hence, to destroy the slave trade, would directly diminish the exports of sugar and coffee from Cuba and Brazil.

But if these prolific fountains are dried up, how is the continually increasing demand for these products to be supplied? How are the United States, England, and the Continent of Europe to be furnished with these indispensable articles? Africa seems to furnish the only hope. Let England, France, and the United States, make a united effort to extend the benefits of Christian civilization, not only around the coast, but into the heart of this hitherto benighted portion of the earth, and the most cheering results might be anticipated. Let accumulated wealth pour her exhaustless treasures in the lap of the Colonization Society, enabling it to send out to Africa multitudes of civilized and enlightened men, to diffuse intelligence and freedom along the shores of its rivers, and over its mountains and plains! Let England, with her commerce, her wealth, her public spirit, and her Christianity, exert her powerful influences in extending her commerce, her enterprise, and her civilization, among the natives of this extensive continent! Let France unite her energies in these important efforts, and soon Africa, free and prosperous, might almost supply the world with the products to which we have referred.

From the facts before stated, it is evident that the free labor of the West Indies *is powerless for the suppression of the slave trade*. It furnishes but a limited supply of coffee and sugar, and cannot lessen the immense demand for these products, which gives to that trade its profitable character. These products are of prime necessity and importance to the Christian world; and, while such a large proportion

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\* Present Part, p. 128.

† See p. 133 to 140, present Part.

‡ Present Part, p. 135.



of them are produced by Cuba and Brazil, we are compelled to uphold slavery and the slave trade by their consumption. But establish their cultivation and supply, by free labor, upon a permanent basis, and we shall ere long be released from this dire necessity. Africa presents the principal, if not the only field, where all the means of thus extensively cultivating sugar, coffee, and cotton, by free labor, can be commanded, and from which the great markets of the world can be successfully supplied. The reasons for this opinion may be thus stated :

If the products of free labor can be increased, they will displace an equal amount of the products of slave labor. This will diminish the demand for slaves, and, consequently, lessen the extent of the slave trade. But the hands now employed in free labor cannot, to any great degree, increase their products, *even at the present cost*, and things must remain as they now are until additional free labor is elsewhere employed. These additional laborers, *willing to work for low wages*, can only be found in sufficient numbers among the teeming population of Africa.\*

Africa, then, is the field, and its 160,000,000 of men must supply the laborers necessary to accomplish this great work. The increasing demand for sugar and coffee has placed the wants and interests of Christendom in opposition to the destruction of the slave trade. Cuba and Brazil furnish these great staples for the market, by slaves, as we have seen, brought from Africa. Hence, the Christian world, by consuming these products, have indirectly sustained both slavery and this abominable traffic. But let ample plantations be opened and cultivated in Africa, sufficient to supply the market, and you have removed the grand obstacle to the entire destruction of this trade in blood.

To accomplish an object so desirable, more extensive plans must be devised; the Colonization Society must enlarge the sphere of its operations, the number and character of emigrants must be increased, and a universal effort put forth, commensurate with the great object to be accomplished.

But the direct suppression of the slave trade, as a preliminary step in the progress of African redemption, *is impossible*. The combined efforts of Christendom, in a forty years' struggle, have failed even in *checking* this enormous outrage upon humanity. It may be circumscribed, diminished, and partially suppressed, but it must depend, for its final destruction, upon the political regeneration, together with the intellectual elevation and moral redemption of the entire continent.

The alternative seems already forced upon Christendom, either to encourage slavery and the slave trade, by continuing to consume the produce of Brazil and Cuba, or to set about speedily accomplishing the civilization of Africa.

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\* The cultivation of cotton has been commenced at the British Colony of Port Natal, in S. E. Africa, says the London Economist, and the labor of the Zooloos can be had at ten shillings the month. The wages of native laborers is about the same at Liberia.

The great theater, then, upon which the battle between free labor and slave labor is to be fought, is in Africa; and colonization is the all-potent agent which is to marshal the free labor forces, and lead them on to victory. But this warfare, unlike all preceding contests, is one literally demanding *that every sword shall be beaten into a plowshare, and every spear into a pruninghook*. In this campaign, *tilling the soil*, and not *slaying men*, is the duty required; and the advantages are so decidedly with free labor, that ultimate success is certain. Each industrious emigrant to an African colony, will more than equal a dozen slaves laboring elsewhere. His example and his influence, acting upon the native population, will excite to industry a dozen, or twenty, or a hundred more; and these, again, will exert an influence upon others, and so on indefinitely.

Who can doubt, under such circumstances, that Africa, with its multitudinous population, is the field where free labor may be made successfully to compete with slave labor, in the productions to which we have so often referred, and that the Colonization Society is the medium through which, in the Providence of God, the slave trade is to be finally destroyed?

VI. That there are *moral forces* and *commercial considerations* now in operation, which will, necessarily, impel christian governments to exert their influence for the civilization of Africa, and the promotion of the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia, as the principal agency in this great work, and that in these facts lies our encouragement to persevere in our colonization efforts.

This proposition opens up a wide field of discussion, but in its consideration we must be brief.

There have been *moral forces* acting upon England and the United States, for many years past, to such an extent that these governments have been driven to the adoption of energetic measures for ameliorating the condition of the people of Africa. Much has been done in these efforts, and much more remains to be done. In the United States, 460,000 colored people have obtained their freedom, and in the English Colonies nearly 800,000 rejoice in being released from bondage. The slave trade has been prohibited, declared piracy, and costly efforts for its suppression long prosecuted. But though the measures devised, for the relief of the African race, by these governments, have failed in the accomplishment of *all* the good anticipated, and in some respects, most sadly failed; yet these *moral forces* have lost none of their power, but are still propelling the two nations onward to the final accomplishment of the great work of Africa's redemption from barbarism. During the course of these efforts much light has been thrown on this subject, and it is believed that, through the agency of the Colonization Society, the proper principles have been developed by which the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa may be effected.

In making this declaration, we do not intend to claim more of

wisdom and philanthropy for the United States than for England. The difference in the character of the measures adopted, and the difference in the results attained, have been caused by the difference in the circumstances of the people of the two countries. Fifty years ago the English people looked to the Crown and Parliament, to execute almost every enterprise of a religious or benevolent character. That government, like all others, in all its movements, has to consider well the promotion of its own interests. To adopt any other rule of action, is deliberately to aim at self-destruction. The danger, then, with nations, as with individuals, when suffering humanity makes its appeal, is that the measures adopted for relief, may include more of the *selfish* than of the *benevolent principle*, and failure, or only partial success, attend the efforts made.

When the *moral forces* directed against the slave trade and slavery, by the people of England, reached the government in sufficient power to compel it to action, that great leading interest of the British nation, the *commercial element*, became too closely blended with the *benevolent*, and the policy adopted proved to be *too narrow* to remove the evils sought to be destroyed.

In the United States, the *moral forces* commenced their operations at a very early period, and our independence had scarcely been attained, when the government enacted its laws for prohibiting the slave trade, and declared it piracy.\* Since that period, they have acted with less force upon the government, and nearly all subsequent efforts have either been by a few of the States, separately, or by the people. This course of action seems more in accordance with, and necessarily to grow out of, the spirit of our free institutions. While the government suppresses great public evils, and oversees the civil and military affairs of the nation, it only protects citizens in all their benevolent enterprises and religious interests, but never undertakes to conduct or control these movements for the people. The people, therefore, do not depend upon the government to conduct such affairs, but execute, freely, their own purposes, in accordance with their own peculiar views. The efforts of our people, in behalf of the African race, have been conducted by associations of individuals, and, consequently, the schemes adopted have borne the impress of the minds that conceived and conducted them. This has been emphatically true of the American Colonization Society. Individual or governmental interests being in no way involved in this enterprise, and it being, in its origin, chiefly under the control of christian men, it took the broadest possible ground that christian philanthropy dictated, and thus a scheme was devised *broad enough* to accomplish the destruction of the slave trade, and the work of Africa's redemption. The *religious element* predominated in its organization, and the *commercial* was excluded.

Had this work been undertaken by our government, it would, no doubt, have adopted the policy of England, and made the colony in

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\* See Parts First and Second.

Africa subservient to the interests of the parent country. Such, it must be expected, would have been the action of all governments in like cases. But the Colonization Society, originating solely in *christian benevolence*, has only sought the welfare of the African people, and aimed at creating for them an independent government, to be conducted wholly by themselves. In this it has succeeded; and not in this only, but it has developed a practical plan for the suppression of the slave trade, in the success of which all the nations are equally interested, and all may equally coöperate.

This view of the tendency of colonization in Africa, is now generally entertained. Besides many other authorities of the highest order, it is very fully admitted by a committee of the British Parliament, in a recent Report on the Slave Trade. The committee first show that England's long-cherished plan of an *armed repression* of the slave trade—costing her one hundred and forty millions of dollars, and hundreds of the lives of her subjects—had failed in its object, and that no modification in the system *can* be expected to succeed, and then close with the following testimony to the system of colonization, as the most effective mode of destroying that traffic:

“Your committee entertain the hope, that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa will be one of the most effective means of checking the slave trade, and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labors, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted.”\*

This, then, is the position, in reference to the African question, into which we have been conducted by the operation of the *moral forces* upon England and the United States. Our scheme of Colonization, being *wholly independent of national interests*, except what are common to all; and including within itself all the elements necessary to secure the civilization of Africa and the destruction of the slave trade; now receives the approbation of the philanthropists of both countries, and secures to the Republic of Liberia, from the government of England, that countenance and aid which is the surest guarantee of its rising importance in the benevolent work of African regeneration. If, therefore, Colonization can receive sufficient aid to develop, fully, the elements of its organization, a speedy consummation of the great work it has in view may be anticipated.

From whence, then, are the additional aids to come, which, added to the *moral forces* in operation, shall propel, with sufficient rapidity, this great work of African civilization, and free the world from the reproach and the curse of the slave trade? They exist, principally, it is believed, in the *commercial considerations* which begin to demand, most imperiously, that the rich lands of tropical Africa shall be brought under cultivation, and made to yield to commerce those

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\* North British Review, August, 1849, p. 255.



articles, which free labor and slave labor, *both combined*, are now incapable of furnishing, in adequate quantities, from the fields at present cultivated.

The *moral forces*, though acting with much energy, and in other respects, doing much good, have been unable to destroy the slave trade, because of the counteracting influence of the *commercial considerations* enlisted in its behalf. But the wants of commerce are beginning to demand the execution of the plans which the moral forces *alone* could not perform. Then, as the two great elements of success *now coincide*, it seems that their influence must be irresistible, and the effect certain. The *moral forces* must continue to exert their full effect, because *they cannot become quiescent, while the Christian world is dependent upon slave labor annually*,\*

For cotton, to the amount of . . . .	1,101,330,800 pounds.
For coffee, to the amount of . . . .	338,240,000     “
For sugar, at least . . . . .	1,220,000,000     “

and largely for many other articles of prime necessity. That *commercial considerations* are beginning to act, in the direction of African amelioration, with much urgency, is easily shown. The *increased production* of coffee and cotton, throughout the world, is by no means keeping pace with their *increased consumption*. In former years, there was often a large stock of coffee remaining on hand at the close of each year. But latterly the increased consumption has been so rapid that it has gained on the production, and left a greatly *diminished* stock at the year's end. The deficit of coffee in the markets for 1849 advanced the price very largely, and the supply for the present year, as estimated by the most competent authorities,† will be 70,000,000 pounds *below the present known consumption* of Europe and the United States.

The extensive range of statistics which have been presented, in relation to the production of cotton, have been mostly taken from the London Economist, for January 1850; and we must allow its able editor to sum up the results of his elaborate investigations.‡ He says:§

“Now, bearing in mind that the figures in the above tables are, with scarcely an exception, *ascertained facts*, and not estimates, let us sum the conclusions to which they have conducted us; conclusions sufficient, if not to alarm us, yet certainly to create much uneasiness, and to suggest great caution on the part of all concerned, directly or indirectly, in the great manufacture of England.

“1. That our supply of cotton *from all quarters*, (excluding the United States,) has for many years been decidedly, though irregularly, *decreasing*.

“2. That our supply of cotton *from all quarters*, (including the United States,) available for home consumption, has of late years

\* See Present Part, p. 133.

‡ Page 138.

† Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, Aug. 1850.

§ The *italics* are his own.

been falling off at the rate of 400,000 pounds a week, while our consumption has been increasing during the same period at the rate of 1,440,000 pounds a week.

"3. That the United States is the only country where the growth of cotton is on the increase; and that there even the increase does not on an average exceed 3 per cent, or 32,000,000 pounds annually, which is barely sufficient to supply the increasing demand for its own consumption, and for the continent of Europe.

"4. That no stimulus of price can materially augment this annual increase, as the planters always grow as much cotton as the negro population can pick.

"5. That, consequently, if the cotton manufacture of Great Britain is to increase at all—*on its present footing*—it can only be enabled to do so by applying a great stimulus to the growth of cotton in *other countries* adapted for the culture."\*

The writer also presents the following historical sketch of the cotton trade of England, and closes with a statement of the reason why other countries have *diminished* their production of cotton. It will be seen that it is due to the fact, that they are unable to compete with the United States in its production. We can supply the markets so much *cheaper* than they are able to do, that our cotton is driving theirs from the English market. The writer says:

"Within the memory of many now living, a great change has taken place in the countries from which our main bulk of cotton is procured. In the infancy of our manufacture our chief supply came from the Mediterranean, especially from Smyrna and Malta. Neither of these places now sends us more than a few chance bags occasionally. In the last century the West Indies were our principal source. In the year 1786, out of 20,000,000 pounds imported, 5,000,000 came from Smyrna, and the rest from the West Indies. In 1848 the West Indies sent us only 1,300 bales, (520,000 pounds.) In 1781, Brazil began to send us cotton, and the supply thence continued to increase, though irregularly, till 1830, since which time it has fallen off to one half. About 1822, Egyptian cotton began to come in considerable quantities; its cultivation having been introduced into that country two years before. The import exceeded 80,000 bales, (32,000,000 pounds,) in 1845. The average of the last three years has not been a third of that quantity. Cotton has always been grown largely in Hindostan, but it did not send much to England till about thirty years ago. In the five years, ending in 1824, the yearly average import was 33,000 bales; in 1841 it reached 274,000; and may now be roughly estimated at 200,000 bales a year, (80,000,000 pounds.)

"Now what is the reason why these countries, after having at one time produced so largely and so well, should have ceased or curtailed

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\*We have not copied all the tables of figures from which these opinions have been formed, but only such as were needed in our argument.

their growth within recent years? It is clearly a question of price. Let us consider a few of the cases:

At the close of the years,	Lowest price of Pernambuco,	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Maranham	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Egyptian.	Fall per cent.	Lowest price of Surat.	Fall per cent.
1836-1839 inclusive	9½d	....	8½d	....	10½d	....	4½d	....
1840-1843 .....	7d	....	5½d	....	7d	....	3½d	....
1844-1848 .....	5½d	36	4½d	42	5½d	43	2½d	40

"Here, surely, may be read the explanation of the deplorable falling off in our miscellaneous supply."

From these facts, thus clearly stated by the Economist, and which can be supported from many other authorities, it is plain that there are at least two commodities, Coffee and Cotton, which are not supplied in adequate quantities, *even by the combined efforts of both free and slave labor*; nor can the commercial demand, especially for cotton, be met but by an extension of its cultivation to other countries not engaged in its production.

Cotton, is so essential to England, that she *must have a supply upon which she can depend*. A short crop in the United States, like that of 1847, or the occurrence of any event which would diminish our production to any extent, would affect the *commercial and manufacturing* interests of Great Britain most seriously—so seriously, indeed, that, as a wise government, *she is bound to protect herself against such a contingency*. The truth of this assertion is made apparent, at once, on taking a view of the value of her exports of cotton goods, as compared with those of her other manufactures.

*Exports of Cotton Goods, by England, in the years stated.*

1834* value . . . . .	\$102,567,930	1837* value . . . . .	\$102,940,410
1835* " . . . . .	110,498,665	1848† " . . . . .	114,406,000
1836* " . . . . .	153,014,560	1849† " . . . . .	139,453,970

*Woollen Goods.*

1848† value . . . . .	\$32,554,815	1849† value . . . . .	\$42,096,650
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*Silk Manufactures.*

1848† value . . . . .	\$2,940,585	1849† value . . . . .	\$5,001,785
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*Linen Manufactures.*

1848† value . . . . .	\$16,481,190	1849† value . . . . .	\$20,517,215
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Truly, her Cotton Manufactures is the right arm of England, because it is the principal element in sustaining her commerce. This great leading interest, then, she will never consent to sacrifice. But it is now threatened with *an insufficient supply of the raw material*. The efforts to extend the cultivation of cotton in India, by native labor, have been abortive; that for introducing it into the heart of Africa, *by the agency of white men*, at the time of the Niger expedition, proved disastrous; and the British government is now anxiously looking

abroad for the means of placing its cotton manufactures in a condition of greater security. The diminishing production in all other countries, but ours, is alarming to her, when she considers that the increased production in the United States, has been, and will probably continue to be, only equal to the increase of the slave population—viz: 3 per cent. per annum\*—and that this increased production is all required by the increased demand consequent upon the multiplication of spindles and looms in the United States and on the Continent of Europe. It must also be noticed, that the demand for cotton fabrics is increasing in proportion to the increase of wealth and the extension of civilization. Without an increased supply of the raw material, Great Britain, therefore, cannot participate in the advantages of this increasing demand, and must suffer loss. This is a position she will

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\*At a subsequent date, from that before quoted, the London Economist, prompted by the suggestions of many English friends, resumed the consideration of the subject of the probable increase of the ratio of cotton production in the United States. It had been urged, that by the transfer of the slave population from other districts and other pursuits to that of cotton, the ratio of increase might be augmented so that the production in the United States should be made to equal the increasing consumption. But the conclusion arrived at is adverse to this view, and his opinion strengthened that the United States cannot meet the growing demands of commerce.

But there is one consideration which the Economist has overlooked, and which seems to have been but seldom noticed, that will be found to present an impassable barrier to the unlimited extension of cotton production in the United States. We refer to the *Geology* of the cotton region of this country; and we do so because the importance of the facts we state will be understood in England.

Public duties have taken us over many parts of the cotton growing States, including North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. A considerable portion of the uplands of the three first-named States, are composed of *Primary* rocks, having often but a light covering of soil, which, from its loose porous nature, on cultivation, is easily swept away by heavy rains, or soon becomes exhausted by a succession of crops. The more common plan of renewing such exhausted lands, is to abandon their cultivation until a new growth of timber, arising and maturing, and shedding its foliage from year to year, restores a new soil, to be again cultivated and again abandoned. There are lands in North Carolina which have been thus turned out and re-enclosed three or four times since the settlement of the country.

Another portion of these States consists of the sands, clays, marls, &c., of the *Tertiary* formation, some of which furnish more permanent soils than the *Primary*; but all of which are liable to exhaustion, to a greater or less extent, under cultivation, and demand *manuring* to keep them productive.

The valleys are mostly of *Alluvial* deposits, and often of inexhaustible fertility. And last, there is a limited extent of these States composed of the *Chalk*, or Rotten Limestone, as it is locally called. This formation usually affords rich soils.

In Mississippi and Alabama, and the cotton growing portion of Tennessee, the *Primary* rocks do not appear; but the *Silurian*, *Devonian*, and *Carboniferous* limestones, sandstones, and shales, mostly constitute the highlands. In the limestone districts the soils are generally rich, and, with proper attention to manuring, will remain inexhaustible. The sandstone and shale districts of course afford soils liable to exhaustion, unless recourse is had to *liming* as well as *manuring*. A considerable portion of the surface, in the mountainous and hilly regions, occupied by these formations, is too rugged and rocky for cultivation.

The less elevated districts of these States, are composed of alternate beds of pure sands and clays, and of ferruginous sands and clays, and marlite, of the *Tertiary* formation; or the massive *Chalk* deposits; or of *Diluvium*, *Post-Diluvium* (?) and *Alluvium*. The soils of the Tertiary are very variable in their



not long occupy—that she does not *need* to occupy—because she can release herself from it.

But in the efforts hitherto made by England, and seconded by other Christian nations, she has been driven from measure to measure—each seeming to promise success, and each, in succession, partially or totally failing—until this moment, when *commercial considerations* are pressing, with their strongest force, for the extension of cotton cultivation to other countries than those now engaged in its production. Now, the most remarkable feature in the partial successes and complete failures of the national schemes for the destruction of the slave trade, and kindred evils, is the evidence they afford of a superintending Providence, overruling in the affairs of men for the accomplishment of His own purposes through the agency of individuals or nations. It now begins to appear, as clear as the sun at

qualities—the clay and sandy strata soon becoming exhausted and the ferruginous and marly portions often being very durable. The chalk supplies some of the richest soils known, but in places having only a thin covering of soil and being nearly pure *carbonate of lime*, in dry seasons, the cotton, as the planters express it, is often *burnt out*. With abundance of manure, this formation can be kept perpetually fertile. It is of considerable extent in Mississippi and Alabama. The fertility of the Alluvium of the valleys is, of course, mostly inexhaustible. The Diluvium is of limited range and the Post-Diluvium more extensive. Both afford some good soils and much that are soon exhausted.

The indispensable article of *manure*, throughout the three States first named, is difficult to obtain. The cultivation of cotton affords nothing but the meager supply of *its own seed* for restoring the fertility of the soil, and this seed is mostly used on the corn crop. The chief remaining method of supplying manures, is tedious and expensive, and is accomplished by collecting the fallen leaves from the forest trees of the mountains or nearest uncultivated lands. These are thrown in bulk into the farm yards, where cattle are confined, until sufficiently rotted and intermixed with excrement, when the mass is strewed in the drills during the planting of the cotton crop.

Manuring has not yet been much resorted to in the fresher lands of the south western States. All these lands, except the Alluvium, in all these States, will need manures to sustain their fertility. But in cultivating cotton exclusively, manures, in sufficient quantities, *cannot be produced*, as they may in grain-growing districts, to keep up the productiveness of the lands; and, consequently, the production of cotton cannot be increased in a ratio much beyond that of the present. If cotton only is cultivated, the lands become exhausted; and if a system of rotation of crops be adopted, to prevent the exhaustion of the soil, the quantity of cotton is diminished. It will be amusing to the English Scientific Agriculturist to know, that so far as any reference is had to the restoration of the fertility of the soil, in the Carolinas, by a change of crops, the system of rotation has been *Cotton and Pine! Cotton and Pine!!* Arkansas and Texas possess nearly the same geological characteristics as Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Without entering into further details, we are convinced that, as a Geologist, we hazard but little in saying, that a considerable portion of the cotton lands, of the older southern States, must continue to *wear out under constant cultivation*; and that similar results, though less rapid in their operation, owing to differences in their Geology, must also follow in the newer States; and that, therefore, the *diminution* in the quantity of lands that will remunerate the cultivator, though for the present not equal to the quantity of new lands brought into use, will, nevertheless, reach to such an extent as to render it impossible, *for any great number of years*, to increase the production of cotton much beyond the present ratio of three per cent. per annum.

noonday, that all these combinations of events—succeeding as they have done, each other—have tended to one grand result, worthy of the wisdom of Deity; and that result the involving of the principal nations of Christendom in such difficulties and perplexities—all seeming to be the natural fruits of their former connection with African oppression—as must impel them forward, from necessity, *moral* and *commercial*, to the civilization of Africa.

The London Economist, in the article before quoted, after having shown that Brazil, Egypt, and the East Indies, cannot be relied upon to meet the wants of the English manufacturers, says:

“Our hopes lie in a very different direction; we look to our West Indian, African, and Australian colonies, as the quarters from which, would government only afford every *possible* facility, we might, ere long, draw such a supply of cotton, as would, to say the least, make the fluctuations of the American crop, and the varying proportions of it which falls to our share, of far less consequence to our prosperity than they now are.”

But we must hasten to a conclusion. *Commercial considerations*, of overwhelming force, are impelling England to powerful efforts to secure to herself a *certain and adequate supply of cotton*. This she cannot obtain but in promoting its growth in *other countries than those now producing it*. The West Indies, in their present circumstances—nor until the missionaries now laboring there succeed in elevating the people, and more equal laws prevail—cannot supply this demand, nor even then without an increase of population. There will, therefore, be only two fields remaining, Australia and Africa. Of the two, without entering into detail, we must insist that Africa is the more promising, and success in it the more certain; not only from the character and abundance of its population, but because the *moral forces* will be exerted in behalf of Africa more fully than for Australia. The reason is obvious: though Australia may be adapted to cotton, its cultivation there, and the civilization of its natives, cannot be made to act so directly and efficiently upon the slave trade, as the promotion of its growth will do in Africa. And, besides this important consideration, the population of Australia, including emigrants and *convicts* transported thence, is only 300,000—a number too insignificant to accomplish much in cotton cultivation after producing necessary articles of subsistence. In the native population of Australia, “human nature wears its rudest form,” and they are declared to be, both *physically* and *intellectually*, the most degraded of any savage tribes. Their numbers have been estimated at 100,000,\* and it may safely be said, that it is useless to take them into the account in estimating free labor agencies for tropical cultivation. It must be apparent, therefore, that both the moral forces and commercial considerations, operating in England in behalf of an extended Cotton cultivation, must be directed to Africa, almost exclusively, and, in turning to Africa, must, necessarily, be concentrated upon Liberia as the great center of action.

\* Encyclopedia of Geography, vol. 3, p. 127.

Thus stands the Cotton question in England. Her supply of that article from the United States has reached its maximum, and from all other quarters has been steadily diminishing; placing her under the necessity of securing, from Liberia, the demands of her *increasing consumption*. In the production of Sugar and Coffee in Africa, Great Britain is not so deeply interested—her chief supplies of these articles being obtained from her colonies. But from moral and commercial considerations she would prefer to substitute 146,000,000 lbs. of Liberia Sugar for that amount of slave labor product now consumed by her; because she desires to discountenance slavery, and because freemen in Liberia will need more of her fabrics, in exchange, than the Brazilian planters will purchase for their half-naked slaves. We may, therefore, rely upon England as the fast friend of Liberia and of African civilization.

In the United States the moral forces have long been operating with great efficiency for African civilization. The commercial considerations are now also beginning to be felt with a good degree of power.\* On this subject, however, we cannot at present enlarge, but must be content with calling special attention to one point.

The great element in the United States, for the promotion of African civilization, consists in our industrious and intelligent free colored population. The facts presented in the present Lecture, with the inducements previously existing, should incline them to flock to Africa. In Liberia, the colored man has secured to him all the privileges of a freeman. There he can have schools and colleges for the education of his children, and enjoy civil and religious liberty. He can assist in the great work of African civilization, and aid in destroying the slave trade. He has there a fair field for the acquisition of wealth, and the enjoyments it secures. That these promises are not illusive, but will be fulfilled, is easily proved. Our investigations show, that the demand for an increased amount of Cotton, affords a guaranty that the labor of the Liberians would pay, if directed to its production. The increasing demand for Coffee cannot be supplied but by its cultivation in Liberia, or by an increase of slaves in Brazil, and a corresponding increase of the slave trade. The consumption of this article has increased in a ratio of *five* per cent. per annum. The demand for 1850 is estimated at 630,000,000 lbs. The production of 1849 was only 426,000,000 lbs., and the stock of old Coffee on hand but 134,000,000 lbs., leaving a deficit for the present year, 1850, of 70,000,000 lbs.† Brazil now supplies over *two-fifths* of the whole amount of Coffee consumed, and cultivates it at a cost *one-third less* than other countries. But she cannot extend her cultivation at present, for want of slaves, and should Great Britain compel her to suspend the slave trade, which is probable, there must be a diminution of her production. Its cultivation in other countries, where it has been declining, cannot be revived for many years.‡ It is almost

\* See the Report of a Committee of Congress on the establishment of a line of steam vessels between the United States and Liberia.

† Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Aug., 1850.

‡ Ibid.

certain, therefore, that the production of Coffee within the present limits of its cultivation, can do no more than make up the deficiency now existing, and keep up the supply to the present demand of 630,000,000 lbs. annually; and it is more than probable that even this cannot be effected, because, if the crop of 1850 only equals that of 1849, the deficit for 1851 will be 200,000,000 lbs., being nearly equal to one-third the consumption. This, then, will leave at least the increasing demand of five per cent. per annum *to be supplied by Liberia*; and, behold, what a vast source of wealth even this one article opens up to the citizens of that Republic!

The following tabular statement, prepared at our request, by Mr. J. M. M. WILSON, a graduate of Miami University, presents at one view, the extent and value, during the next fifteen years, of this *five* per cent. ratio of annual increasing consumption of Coffee:

TABULAR STATEMENT of the amount and value of Coffee which will be demanded by a ratio of increase of five per cent. per annum on the present consumption.

YEARS.	Amount required. lbs.	Annual increase. lbs.	Increase over 1850.	Value—Dollars, at 6 cts. per lb.
1850,	630,000,000	.....	.....	.....
1851,	661,500,000	31,500,000	31,500,000	\$1,890,000
1852,	694,575,000	33,075,000	64,575,000	3,874,500
1853,	729,303,750	34,729,750	99,303,750	5,958,225
1854,	765,768,937	36,465,185	135,768,937	8,146,136
1855,	804,057,384	38,288,447	174,057,384	10,443,443
1856,	844,260,252	40,202,869	214,260,252	12,855,615
1857,	886,473,265	42,213,013	256,473,265	15,388,395
1858,	930,786,928	44,323,663	300,796,928	18,047,815
1859,	977,336,674	46,539,746	347,336,674	20,840,200
1860,	1,026,503,508	48,866,834	399,203,508	23,772,210
1861,	1,077,513,233	51,310,175	447,513,233	26,850,793
1862,	1,131,388,895	53,875,662	501,388,895	30,083,333
1863,	1,187,958,340	56,569,445	557,958,340	33,477,500
1864,	1,247,356,257	59,397,917	617,356,257	36,841,375
1865,	1,309,724,070	62,367,813	679,724,070	40,783,307

We should not have introduced this table, but for its value in affording a true idea of the growing commercial importance of the cultivation of the lands of Liberia. It shows that the annual ratio of increase, aside from the large deficit in the supply of Coffee, is at this moment, worth nearly *two millions* of dollars, and that in fifteen years it will be worth over *forty millions*!! The increased demand for Cotton will be of nearly equal importance. To this must be added her sugar, indigo, dye-woods, palm oil, ivory, &c., &c., and the new Republic assumes an importance, in the commercial world, only surpassed by the moral influence she is destined to exert over the whole continent. Indeed, her commercial progress already has been astonishing. Five or six years ago, her exports were about \$100,000, but now they are \$500,000, and rapidly increasing. Liberians comprehend the advantageous position they have secured, and



are eager to develop the resources of their country. Their greatest want is men. They appeal to us for industrious, intelligent, enterprising, upright emigrants, to aid them in unfolding to the world the long-hidden treasures of Africa, and to participate in the advantages that her riches will bestow. Are not colored men, in this country, able to comprehend the value of these resources? Must we conclude that they will remain indifferent, and reject the rich inheritance offered in Liberia, and tell the world that they have less foresight, energy, and enterprise, than other races of men? We cannot believe this.

But the discussion of this proposition must be closed. Our Republic occupies a very peculiar and important position. We have the agents necessary to effect the moral regeneration of Africa; and if they be treated *as men*, and liberal provision be made for emigration, by the States and the General Government, our intelligent colored men will not shrink from duty.

A crisis has arrived in the commercial world, in which there is an inadequate supply of two of the leading staples upon which slave labor is employed. Free and slave labor combined have failed to supply the consumption, and an increase of price has occurred sufficient to give a stimulus to their production. This increased production must occur either in Brazil and Cuba, or free labor must be sufficiently stimulated to meet the demand. But where and how is this to be accomplished? There is little hope of its soon occurring in the East or West Indies. Already at one point in Liberia, nearly 30,000 coffee trees are maturing, and will soon afford 300,000 lbs. a year for export. There might, and would have been, had the people of the United States performed their duty, 700 such plantations in Liberia at this moment, ready to supply 200,000,000 lbs. of Coffee annually. Had the growth of Liberia not been retarded by the narrow policy that opposed Colonization, it requires little discernment to perceive, that this increasing demand might have been supplied by the labor of the freemen of the African Republic, instead of being left as a tempting prize, to be seized by the Brazilian planter and the African slave trader. The crisis now existing, therefore, demands the united exertions of all the friends of humanity, both at the North and the South, to push forward, with the utmost energy, the work of Colonization, as the only means of checking the extension of slavery and the slave trade. The wants of commerce demand, and must receive, an adequate supply of Coffee and Cotton, and we must either secure that supply from Liberia, or submit to see an increase of cruelty and oppression in Cuba and Brazil.

We might greatly enlarge upon the extent to which moral forces and commercial considerations are pressing the English and American people to promote African civilization, through the agency of Liberia, but what has been said must suffice.

VII. That all these agencies and influences being brought to bear upon the Civilization of Africa, from the nature of its soil, climate,

products, and population, we are forced to believe that a mighty people will ultimately rise upon that continent, taking rank with the most powerful nations of the earth, and vindicate the character of the African race before the world.

We cannot, at present, enter upon the discussion of this proposition. It includes a field of great interest, which would be amply broad for a whole discourse. But we must leave it as an expression of our anticipation of the ultimate destiny of Africa, and close with a few remarks.

Our last Lecture presented the African under the influence of degrading superstition, and the brutalizing effects of the slave trade. The picture was dark indeed. In the present Lecture we had designed to present many evidences of his nobleness of character, when such debasing causes do not influence his actions. But we must defer them, and limit ourselves to a few points more closely connected with the subjects we have been discussing.

It has been fashionable to charge upon the slaveholder equal criminality with the African kidnapper and slave trader, because the forefathers of the slaves held in bondage were originally brought from Africa. As our *diploma* does not bear date from *Mount Ebal*,\* and we are not trained to *cursing*, we shall be excused for speaking more calmly upon this point, and taking a more comprehensive view of its relations. Let the criminality of the slaveholder be what it may, it will be proper to examine the facts and ascertain whether others are not equally implicated in the guilt. Slaveholders are now producing, annually, more than eleven hundred millions of pounds of Cotton, and more than twelve hundred and twenty millions of pounds of Sugar, and nearly three hundred and forty millions of pounds of Coffee. Do they consume these articles themselves? Are these products so polluted that the world will neither touch, taste, nor handle them? Not at all. The great struggle everywhere is as to who shall obtain the greatest quantity of them, who make the greatest profit, and who derive most comfort from their consumption. This is especially true of London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, Hamburgh, Stockholm, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg, as well as of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. The early abolitionists endeavored to prove, that the slaveholder was equally guilty with the slave trader and kidnapper, because the former received his slaves from the hands of the latter; and that those who now hold in bondage the descendants of the stolen slaves, are equally guilty with the original kidnapper. According to this logic, that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," is a true proverb — and the men of the seventh generation, involved in an evil without their consent, by the actions of their forefathers, are equally guilty with its originators. If this be sound logic, then the manufacturer who buys slave grown Cotton, and makes it into cloth, is equally guilty with the slaveholder

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\* Deut. 27: 18.

himself who produces it. But the implication in guilt, if guilt there be, does not stop here. He who purchases and wears the goods manufactured from slave grown cotton, is also implicated; and as there is annually consumed over eleven hundred millions of pounds of slave grown cotton, and barely seventy-eight millions of free labor growth, it follows that all Christendom is involved in the same condemnation. These facts serve to illustrate one of our positions — that the Christian world cannot avoid consuming the products of slave labor, and thereby encourage slavery and the slave trade, but by civilizing Africa.

There is one plan to avoid this great evil, and in an hour free ourselves from it, and that is *to burn down all the cotton factories in Europe and America*, and suffer none to be erected in their stead. But what would the world gain by the sacrifice? or rather, what would it lose? Commerce, the great agent in the world's civilization, would be destroyed. A check upon commerce is a check upon civilization. Human progress and human happiness materially depend upon commerce. But it is not practicable, even were it desirable, to destroy these factories to eradicate slavery. It is *impossible* to destroy them. The *pecuniary* considerations involved are more powerful than the *moral*. The owners of these factories will continue to manufacture slave grown cotton; commerce *will* continue to transmit the products of the looms to every corner of the world; and the earth's population will continue to wear these fabrics. The slave grown sugar and coffee *will* also be consumed; because a supply from free labor cannot be obtained. As it is impracticable, then, to prevent the consumption of slave grown coffee, sugar, and cotton, on account of the pecuniary profit and personal comfort they afford to mankind, so it is alike impossible to abolish slavery while the world continues to consume the products of its labor. Our own view, as expressed in the outset, is, that the whole Christian world is involved in this evil. Is there any more criminality in superintending the *production* of slave grown cotton, than in overseeing its *manufacture*, or in being *clothed* with the fabrics into which it has been transformed? Is the Louisiana or Cuban planter more criminal in raising, and sending to market, his crop of sugar, than the abolitionist of London or Boston is for sweetening his coffee, his tea, or his poundcake with the same article? Is the Brazilian slaveholder more guilty for furnishing coffee, by the labor of his slaves, than the merchant is for purchasing and selling it to all the anti-slavery men in Ohio? Are they innocent for greedily drinking it, knowing it to be procured by the lash of the task-master? If coffee were not consumed, none would be raised. If sugar were not used, none would be made. If cotton were not manufactured and worn, none would be grown. Hence slavery would be abolished! Who then supports slavery and the slave trade, but the one who consumes its products? We leave these questions to every man's conscience. In the present crisis we would approach our southern brethren in the language of the sons of Jacob, and say: "*We are verily guilty*

concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us;" and in the spirit of christian liberality, propose some plan that would *equalize the burden* of relieving the country from the distracting evils of slavery. Capitalists at the south buy negroes because the investment is profitable, and they can no more be expected to emancipate their slaves, while their labor is *profitable*, than northern men can be expected to burn their factories or banks with all their valuable contents.

But what is there to prevent a change in this condition of things? Must it remain forever? Must slavery, acknowledged on all hands, except by a very few, to be an evil, continue as a perpetual source of discord, endangering the safety of the Union, or affording a fruitful theme of excitement for fanatics and demagogues? Men may transfer their property, at pleasure, into cash, whether it be in lands, manufactories, or slaves. They are governed only by interest and inclination in such matters. Convince the slaveholder that he can do better than to invest his money in slaves, and he will not buy them. But when the investment is made, and you ask him to emancipate, *without compensation*, he considers it an unreasonable demand. Emancipation in the West Indies, he knows, has resulted in pecuniary ruin to the master, and has increased slavery in the aggregate, instead of diminishing it. It is of the first importance, therefore, in the adoption of any emancipation schemes, that an adequate number of efficient free laborers should be secured to supply the place of the slaves. Unless this can be done with safety to the planter, he will not risk the change; and unless the plan be such an one as will not create a fresh demand for slaves elsewhere, and produce an increase of the slave trade, humanity would forbid its adoption. Then devise a plan by which *a productive free labor* can be substituted for slave labor, and the master *receive compensation for his slaves*, and he would, no doubt, gladly free himself from the inconveniences and want of safety of his position.

There are many reasons why such a change would be acceptable to the South. A feeling favorable to emancipation, *independent of compensation*, has long existed there, and legislative action has been deemed necessary to prevent too great an increase of free blacks. The laws forbidding emancipation, except on condition of the removal of the freed man, have been approved by the friends of emancipation; because the two leading objects they have in view, are, to better the condition of the slave, and to throw their own sons in a position of *self-dependence*, that would lead them to industry. To secure both these objects, demands the removal of the colored people. But as no efficient system exists in the slave States, for the encouragement of white labor, and as none can be adopted while the blacks remain, many of the enterprising whites, of small means, have yearly emigrated to the free States. This has been most injurious to the slave States. Each white man, who emigrated, was a loss to them and a gain to the free States. Thousands upon thousands of



the best citizens of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are from the slave States, and abandoned their former homes on account of their dislike to place their sons, as laborers, on an equality with slaves, and in the midst of the demoralizing influences that slavery generates. It is this tide of emigration which is so seriously checking southern prosperity and keeping the numerical strength of the slave States so much below that of the free. But this dislike of freemen to labor on an equality with slaves, influences not only the southern white man of moderate means, but it prevents foreign emigrants from choosing their homes in the "sunny south" instead of the chilly north. Neither can *emancipation*, alone, check this tide of white emigration from the slave States, nor attract the foreign emigrant to them. The free colored people exert as paralyzing an effect upon industry there, as the presence of the slaves; and, to secure the objects aimed at, *colonization must be connected with emancipation*. This effect of the presence of emancipated slaves, upon the industry of the whites, is not confined alone to the United States. It has been a legitimate result of African slavery wherever it has existed. According to Mr. Bigelow, whose letters have been already quoted, it has been peculiarly the case in Jamaica. In summing up the causes which have continued to depress the prosperity of that island, since emancipation, he places, first in the list, the dislike of the whites to labor with a people of servile origin, and the aptness of the blacks to adopt their idle habits. His first cause of industrial depression is thus stated:

"1. The degradation of labor, in consequence of the yet comparatively recent existence of negro slavery upon the Island, which excludes the white population from almost every department of productive industry, and begets a public opinion calculated to discourage, rather than promote industry among the colored population."

Mr. Bigelow is of the opinion that the English Government takes this view of the subject; and, with the design of correcting the evils and restoring the prosperity of the Island, is contemplating the withdrawal of the white population, and allowing the colored people to *become the proprietors of the soil*. Now, if it be so, that the prosperity of the West India Islands demands a separation of the races, where it is the boast that so little prejudice against color exists, how much more imperiously is the separation of the blacks and whites demanded in this country, where prejudice against color is supposed to be so much stronger; but which, in fact, may be called by another name, because it is founded, not so much in relation to *color* as to the *habits* engendered by slavery, and to which, color is supposed to be a certain index, as it reveals the servile origin of its possessor. Colonization is the true remedy, to the colored people, for this social evil, as it is also the true means of stimulating the industry of the whites where slavery has existed.

But there is another depressing cause, weighing down the colored man, for which Colonization is the only remedy. While he remains among those to whom he, or his fathers, were formerly in bondage, his presence not only continues to degrade labor, and prevent industry

among the whites, but he continues to feel a sense of inferiority that retards improvement. The remedy for this, is his removal from the scenes that remind him of his former servile condition, and especially his separation from the race which held him in bondage. This opinion of the unfavorable condition in which the colored people are placed, is becoming general. It is a great truth, which is fast forcing itself upon minds that hitherto would not admit it for a moment. Even the *National Era*, the Abolition organ, has been led to embrace views corresponding so closely with this as to be its equivalent. In an article headed "*Free Labor versus Slave Labor*," the editor expresses the opinion, that emancipation in the United States would lead to the concentration of the colored people in the South, and the displacement of the laboring whites, and produce beneficial results. He says:

"The aggregation of the negroes would necessarily build up a public opinion of their own, *a feeling of nationality, which is essential to the development of character*. This they never can have while dispersed over so wide an extent of country, among an unfriendly people, who trample on their rights and treat them as outcasts."\*

It will be apparent, on slight examination, that the aggregation of the colored people and the displacement of the whites, must be a very different thing in the United States from what it would be in Jamaica. The removal of 16,000 whites, (about 3,000 families,) in that Island, from a colored population of nearly 400,000 persons, will be a trifling task compared with the rooting out of the immense white population of *one-third of the States of this Union!* The former is practicable, the latter impossible; and the sooner it is dismissed from any part of the public mind the better. The truth is, that the only hope of placing the colored people of the United States beyond the influence of those "who trample on their rights and treat them as outcasts," and where there would necessarily grow up "a public opinion of their own, *a feeling of nationality, which is essential to the development of character*," is not to retain them as free laborers in the service of the southern planter, as the *Era's* scheme contemplates, but to afford them the means of reaching Liberia, where they may, themselves, be the *landed proprietors* in a Republic of their own, instead of remaining here as *serfs* in the land of their former bondage. These are the different destinies that Colonization and Abolition have in store for the African race.

But can such a substitution of free labor for slave labor, as we have contemplated, be made with equal profit to the southern capitalist? Can there be found a sufficient number of freemen, to replace the slaves, so that there shall be no diminution of products to serve as a fresh stimulus to slavery and the slave trade elsewhere? Will southern men, in such circumstances, be willing to emancipate, on condition of receiving compensation? Could the States and the

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\* *National Era*, May 16, 1850.

General Government provide for the expenses of the emigration of all the colored people?

These are the great questions of the day in reference to the whole subject of emancipation. We shall not undertake, formally, to answer them. Colonies of foreigners, recently settled in Texas, have commenced the cultivation of cotton without the aid of slaves. The agent of the "Free Produce Society," LEVI COFFIN, of Cincinnati, assures us that these colonists, together with many other persons thus engaged in cotton raising at the South, find it a profitable business, and that they can fully compete with their neighbors who employ slave labor. From personal observation, we are prepared to say, that the value of the proceeds of small farms, on which but few laborers are employed, is twice as great in the North as in the South. We have less acquaintance with the operations of the large planters at the South, but suppose that the contractors on our public works at the North, who employ an equal number of hands, and possess equal business talents, after paying full wages, realize the greatest profits. We mean to be understood as claiming, that free labor, under the most favoring circumstances, is twice as productive as slave labor; and that the southern planters, in substituting an intelligent white laboring population, and paying full wages, would realize a better profit than they do under their present system. With a few years' experience, the foreigner is as profitable a laborer as the native American. The present annual influx of near a *half a million of foreigners*, into the country, would furnish many laborers to the South, were the objections to settling there removed. The adoption, by the General Government, of a system of emancipation, *allowing compensation for the slaves, and connecting with it their colonization in Liberia*, would at once attract foreigners to the southern States, to an extent fully equal to the number of colored people that could annually be safely settled in Africa. The number of emigrants that can be provided for in Liberia, will be an hundred per cent. greater, in proportion to its population, than can be received in countries where protection has to be made against winter. In a few years that Republic can be prepared to receive an immense emigration. The opening of the South to free labor, would give a vast stimulus to the spirit of emigration in European countries, and bring a flood of useful emigrants from their teeming populations; including mechanics, manufacturers, and agricultural laborers, which might equal, as soon as desirable, the whole number of our slaves, *and constitute a body of operatives much more profitable*. Europe, at present, is annually pouring out more than a half a million of her people, without feeling any sensible diminution; nay, without losing a tithe of her increase. The greater part of that emigration is to the United States; and as there is not such an attractive field furnished in the world, to foreign emigrants, as our southern States afford, were a system adopted for the emigration of the African population, we would receive a greatly increased number of Europeans. How long it would take for three millions of foreign emigrants to find their way

into the South, to take the place of the three millions of slaves, we cannot say; but there exists little doubt that their ingress would be as rapid as the colored people could possibly leave for Liberia.

It is thus that free labor might be substituted for slave labor, *and the slaveholder be rendered more prosperous and happy.* The restoration to the planter, by the General Government, of his capital invested in slaves, and the introduction of a system of free labor which would require a much less outlay of money than the present system, would, doubtless, be approved at the South, and a proposition of this kind be accepted by acclamation.

#### GENTLEMEN OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

In closing, we must call your attention to the question of making provision for the emigration of the colored people of Ohio, or for such of them as may, from time to time, desire to remove to Liberia. The late purchase of territory for a new colony, by CHARLES McMICKEN, Esq., to be called *Ohio in Africa*, is attracting the attention of the colored people, and considerable anxiety prevails to obtain reliable information about Liberia, and especially in relation to the lands now offered to them as their future homes. The general feeling among those who take an interest in this movement, is, that a committee of their own choosing, which should be approved by the agent of the Colonization Society, shall be sent to explore the country. This seems a reasonable request, and should be complied with.

The Colonization Society have in their offer a larger number of slaves than they can colonize, and we cannot ask that its funds shall be diverted from so sacred an object as securing their freedom. The assistance for our colored people must come from the State itself. But the voluntary contributions of individuals are insufficient for this purpose, and too precarious to be relied upon. Public sympathy, throughout the Union, cannot be aroused in behalf of the free colored people, as it can for the slave, so as to make their removal a national question. And yet their agency, as pioneers to aid the Liberians in making provision for new emigrants, is essential to the success of any great national emancipation scheme. The cost of emigration of the free colored people must, then, be borne by the States in which they reside. This view has already been adopted by some of the States. Maryland has established a colony at Cape Palmas, upon which she has expended a large sum. Its prosperity amply repays her liberality. Virginia, last winter, also made a large appropriation, (\$30,000 a year,) to colonize her free colored people. But in addition to this, she has levied a poll tax upon them, which will, doubtless, lessen the task she has undertaken, by driving over upon the adjoining free States, all those who do not wish to emigrate. Ohio has done nothing yet for colonization. Her recent legislation has all been directed so as to invite the largest emigration of colored people from abroad.\*

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\* See first Part, pages 19 to 26.



Taking all the circumstances connected with the subject into view, it is evident that the means of promoting the cause of Colonization in Ohio, must be obtained within the State, and that an application to the Legislature for aid will be necessary. It is all important, then, that the question of legislative power to appropriate money for this object, be put beyond all dispute. To bring the question of affording aid to Colonization directly before the people, for their approval, it is respectfully requested on behalf of the friends of that cause, and on behalf of the colored people who wish to emigrate, that you, gentlemen, in the discharge of your duties, as members of the Constitutional Convention, will insert a clause in the new Constitution, empowering the Legislature to grant an appropriation of money to the American Colonization Society, under such restrictions as will best promote the noble enterprise in which it is engaged, and encourage the emigration of the colored people from this State to Liberia.

There is certainly much, at this moment, gentlemen, to excite encouraging hopes for the colored race, and to stimulate their friends to forget all minor differences, and press onward to the accomplishment of the grand results now evidently attainable through Colonization. Nor are we left without hope, that our own beloved country may yet be freed from the reproach of African slavery, which has been entailed upon her by the cupidity of the mother country. Take a view, for a moment, of the signs of the times, and the present position of affairs. The despotisms of Europe are being shaken to their centers. The crowned heads seem to have gained a momentary respite. The want of safety in property and life in the old world is greatly stimulating emigration to the new. Here, only, can white men enjoy all the rights of freemen, and be brought under the influence of all the elements of useful human progress.\* The recent vast enlargement of our territory, may have been permitted to afford room for the oppressed millions of Europe, who are sighing for peace and for freedom. Our national councils have been directed to a peaceful adjustment of the questions threatening the safety of the Union. The opening up of the untold riches of California is placing in the possession of the nation the means of accomplishing great things for the world. This most singular combination of events, points very significantly to the great work devolving upon the nation. *To substitute free labor for slave labor is in our power. To give compensation to the master for his slaves will not be beyond our ability.* The foreign emigrants pouring into the country will perform the first great work. The immense revenues that will hereafter flow into our national treasury will enable us to execute the last. Is it doubted? The appropriation of an annual sum only equal to half the amount expended in the Mexican War, would, in seventeen years, colonize all the slaves, and pay to the masters \$300 each, for young and old, as compensation. To substitute free labor for slave labor need produce no commercial derangement with us that would encourage the slave trade or slavery

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\* See Part Second, page 113.

elsewhere. There need be no diminution of products, but the improved tillage would yield an increase. England and France, when freeing the slaves in their Colonies, found no such tide of intelligent foreigners as we are receiving, flowing into them, to take the place of their slaves, and prevent a decrease of agricultural products. We can do what no other nation would be capable of doing. It is in our power not only to free ourselves from the evil of slavery, and the whole world from the necessity of consuming slave-grown products; but, in the execution of this great work, to hasten the redemption of Africa from barbarism; and, in doing this, to crush the slave trade and slavery everywhere, and establish our own glorious republic upon a foundation as enduring as the everlasting hills. No one, we think, can calmly examine the present relations of free labor to slave labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, as embodied in the mass of facts we have collated, and not be convinced that Emancipation in the United States, and the Colonization of the colored people in Liberia, to develop its resources and civilize its inhabitants, would give a death-blow to the slavery of Cuba and Brazil, and to African oppression throughout the world. And who would not be delighted to aid in such a glorious work? Who would not be overjoyed to witness such a sublime achievement of Republican principle? Who would not devoutly adore that Divine Wisdom which had wrought out such deliverance for Africa.

And now, gentlemen, we commit this subject into your hands. The first step, in the agency which Ohio should have in this great work, must be taken by you. Our lands for the Colony of Ohio in Africa, are included in the Gallinas, hitherto the greatest mart of the slave trade on that coast. To secure its purchase, Great Britain, with profuse liberality, for more than a year, blockaded all its principal trading points and thus kept off the slave traders until the chiefs and kings were induced to sell. That blockade is now raised — the purchase having been made. The country is once more exposed to the approaches of the slave traders, who may again succeed in renewing the traffic. This can only be prevented by the settlement of the points liable to be visited by them. This territory being in the offer of the colored people of Ohio, will for a time, not be offered to others. It is important, therefore, that decisive steps be taken to secure the execution of the enterprise of establishing an Ohio Colony in Africa. The failure of an application to the Legislature, last winter, for aid to begin this work, was, in some degree, owing to an opinion held by a few of the members, that they had not constitutional power to appropriate money for this object. Our appeal, then, must first be to you. The failure to confer upon the Legislature the power for which we ask, will leave us in doubt and perplexity, and cast a blight upon our prospects. But the insertion of a clause in the Constitution, such as is desired, will ensure Legislative action, and may lead the State to adopt and cherish this offspring of benevolence — Ohio in Africa — and thus create a new and efficient agent for the overthrow of oppression and the promotion of human liberty. We commend it to your care, and to the blessing of the Ruler of Nations.

## PART FOURTH.

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It is a dictate of prudence, in all human pursuits, to pause, at times, and review the past, that we may ascertain whether our efforts have been successful, or whether a change of policy may not be demanded to accomplish our purposes. The more important the interests involved, the greater is the necessity for the adoption of this rule. Let us apply it to the efforts which have been made in behalf of the oppressed people of Africa. Except the propagation of the Gospel, few benevolent enterprises have enlisted so many hearts as those for the destruction of the African slave trade and the abolition of slavery; and, in none have the active agents been so often foiled, and doomed to see their brightest hopes decay and almost die, as in these twin offsprings of benevolence.

An impression has gone abroad, of late, among a certain class, that much progress has been made in overturning the system of slavery; and, that, in a little time, the task will be done, and the oppressed go free. It is proposed, in the space of a few pages, to notice the more prominent events connected with the subject, with the view of showing that this belief is not warranted by the facts in the case; and that the Anti-Slavery policy, so far as it has opposed Colonization to Africa, has retarded emancipation, by checking the extension of free labor tropical cultivation, and thus rendered slave labor more and more necessary, and more and more profitable, in the cultivation of those tropical products which the constantly increasing wants of commerce now so imperiously demand.

In performing this task, we shall direct attention to the enormous indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor, at this moment, for certain articles of prime necessity; then show the inability of free labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, to compete with the slave labor of those regions so as to afford any relief; present facts to prove, that the tendency of the efforts of Great Britain, in behalf of the African race, up to a recent date, has been to increase the evils she was attempting to destroy; offer some considerations which make it probable, that the suppression of the African slave trade, an event now considered cer-

tain, will be of immense pecuniary benefit to the slave holders of the United States; and, in concluding, demonstrate that the only hope for any great increase of free labor tropical cultivation, at an early day, is in Africa, and that the main prospect of making it available there, is by colonization to Liberia.

As the field of investigation is an extensive one, we must study great brevity; and, to render our labors less complicated, we shall refer to three articles of slave labor product, only, viz.: Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton. First, then, as to the indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor.

According to official documents, and other reliable sources of information, the consumption of Cotton in Europe and the United States for 1849,\* was 1,179,920,000 lbs. Of this amount, only 78,589,200 lbs. were the product of free labor countries, leaving the Christian world indebted to slave labor, for this article of prime necessity, to the extent of 1,101,330,800 lbs.

Of this amount England consumed 624,000,000 lbs., of which only 71,469,200 lbs. were from free labor countries, leaving her indebted to slave labor countries for 552,530,800 lbs. of Cotton. The amount of this article consumed by Great Britain, being more than one half of the whole consumption of the Christian world, shows that she is the greatest prop to slavery in the world. Her patronage to the slave holders of the United States, alone, for 1849, was, for Cotton, 734,244,560 lbs., of which she manufactured 522,530,800 lbs. and exported the remainder to the Continent.

But why is this? we may be asked. Why is it that England, after making such immense sacrifices for the overthrow of slavery in her own dominions, should be the principal purchaser of the products of the slave labor of a rival nation? We answer, that her greatness and power, the ability to meet the payment of the interest upon her national debt and to sustain the throne itself, is dependent upon her commerce; and that her commerce is based upon her exports of manufactures. These exports stood as follows, for the year 1849, and that year will serve as the index to other years:

Silks Exported, .....	\$5,001,785	
Woolen Goods, Exported, .....	42,096,650	
Linen      "      "      .....	20,517,215	\$67,615,650
Cotton      "      "      .....		\$139,453,970

It will be seen, therefore, that Cotton is indispensable to Great Britain, and that to cut off her supply of that article, would be to destroy nearly two thirds of her commerce, manufactures of Iron excepted.

The United States is also dependent upon Cotton, to a large extent, as the basis of her foreign commerce, not only as it respects the raw material, but in the manufactured article.

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\* This Tract is a condensed enumeration of the facts embraced in the pamphlet addressed to the Ohio Constitutional Convention, in 1850, on "the present relations of free labor to slave labor," and their bearing on African Colonization. The authorities, for the facts stated, are all given in that document, and are to be relied upon as correct, both there and here. The suppression of the slave trade, then in anticipation, has now been nearly realized, and the arguments based upon this event will be found worth considering.



To understand the full indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor and to free labor, respectively, at this moment, the following figures must be given :

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON, SUGAR, AND COFFEE, IN 1849.

	Slave Labor.	Free Labor.	Slave Labor Excess.
Cotton, lbs.	1,101,330,800	78,589,200	1,022,741,000
Sugar, “	1,220,000,000	933,024,000	286,975,000
Coffee, “	338,240,000	217,800,000	120,440,000

These figures show the relation in which the Christian world stood, to these two systems of labor, in 1849, and that relation has not since undergone any material change. Nor is there any practicable mode of immediately altering this relation, now apparent to the eye of the Christian philanthropist. Much dependence has hitherto been placed on the application of moral suasion, for the removal of slavery from our country. But the demands of commerce now far outweigh the moral forces operating against that institution, and it must continue, as far as man can judge, until a change in the sources of supply, of the commodities upon which slave labor is employed, can be accomplished.

But there is no prospect of such a change being effected in the countries now producing these commodities. Their production by slave labor has been rapidly *increasing* for many years, while that by free labor has been as regularly *decreasing*, so that no material change is to be expected very soon. The truth of this assertion will be evident when it is stated, that the forces employed within the western hemisphere, in the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for export, stand about thus :\*

Slave population .....	6,657,000
Free colored population .....	1,657,000

The latter class, standing only as one to six, cannot, by any possibility, compete with the former, and no revolution in the supplies of the commodities named, is to be expected from that quarter.

In confirmation of this view, it is only necessary to say, that while the slave trade supplied the English West India planters and those of Hayti with laborers, the exports in a single year, of the articles under consideration, from these Islands—the latter in 1790 and the former in 1807—amounted to 928,000,000 lbs. ; while under freedom, from 1838 to 1848, their exports averaged, annually, only 356,000,000 lbs.,—being a decrease of 572,000,000 lbs. As there was, during the periods named, no diminution in the consumption of these articles, but a steady increase, this falling off in the amount of free labor products operated as a great stimulus to the slave holder, and also to the slave trader. Is this doubted ? Then look at a few facts connected with this subject.

When England prohibited the slave trade to her citizens, and thus cut off the supply of laborers to her West India planters, in 1808, the ex-

\* This does not include the free colored people of the United States, nor the one million of slaves in this country, who reside north of the Cotton and Sugar line. The whole number of African Slaves in the Western Hemisphere is about 7,500,000.

ports of slaves from Africa, were but 85,000 annually ; but, instead of being diminished by that act, that bloody traffic went on increasing, until, in 1830, it had reached an average of 125,000 annually. In 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed by Parliament, and it was followed by a still farther increase of the slave trade, running up the exports of slaves from Africa, between 1835 and 1840, to 135,800 per annum.

But why this result? Cuba, Brazil, and the French West India Colonies, continued to purchase imported slaves, that they might extend their cultivation, and reap all the advantages of the decreased production, under free labor, in Hayti, and the British West India possessions.

To give a clear idea of the rapidity with which the demand for these products has increased, one instance only need be given, which will serve as an index to the whole. In 1805, the English consumption of Cotton was but 60,000,000 lbs. In 1833 it was 287,000,000 lbs., and in 1845 it had risen to 626,000,000 lbs. But in 1849 it was reduced to 624,000,000 lbs. To this fact we shall recur again, at present merely stating, that as the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, went down in Hayti and the British West Indies, it went up in the countries employing slave labor.

Being in the possession of such facts as these, a just conception can be formed of the present indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor and the character of the obstacles in the way of effecting any immediate change in that relation. In the article of Cotton, alone, the excess of the consumption of the products of slave labor over free labor, is more than *one thousand millions of pounds* ; and, in all three of the products named, it is over *fourteen hundred and thirty millions of pounds*.

Attention must now be directed to another aspect of this subject, and one that is indispensable to the proper understanding of the present posture of slave labor.

It had become apparent, at the close of 1849, that slave labor, and free labor, both combined, were about to fail in producing an adequate supply of Cotton and Coffee, to meet the demand for these commodities ; and, as a necessary consequence, the prices of both advanced, largely, beyond what they had been for years. It was also known, that except so far as more favorable seasons might afford larger crops, occasionally, no increased ratio of production was to be expected in the countries engaged in the cultivation of these articles ; and that their consumption had been increasing in a greater ratio than their production, so that a short supply must become permanent, unless additional laborers, in other countries, not now producing them, could be induced to engage in their cultivation.

There was one mode, indeed, by which an increased production of these commodities might have been secured, in the present producing countries ; and that was by an unlimited and untrammelled increase of the slave trade, adding, annually, two or three hundred thousand slaves to the plantations of Brazil, Cuba, and other slave labor countries. And such was the pressing necessity for an increased supply of Cotton in England, in 1850, that this course of policy was very nearly adopted. The philanthropists, despairing, at that moment, of the suppression of the slave trade, and anxious to relieve it of the horrors induced by the

fear of capture on the part of the traders ; and, moreover, being mostly " peace men," and opposed to the shedding of blood ; had commenced to urge the withdrawal of the naval squadrons from the African coast, so as to leave the traffic in slaves once more unmolested, that it might be prosecuted with care and deliberation and less loss of human life. During 1850 and each of the four preceding years, Brazil received from Africa, from 50,000 to 60,000 slaves for the supply of her planters, notwithstanding the efforts of the squadrons to prevent it. But, as the mortality of her slaves is ten per cent. per annum, she needed 200,000 at least, to keep pace with the demands which commerce was making upon her for slave grown products. The English Cotton lords, foreseeing, doubtless, that the movement would at once double the supply of laborers to Brazil, and increase her ability to export Cotton, readily united with the philanthropists, and, in the name of humanity, demanded that the government should withdraw its African squadron. The adoption of this measure by Parliament, would have given to the slave trader an uninterrupted field for renewing his horrid traffic in human flesh. But Lord John Russell brought the whole weight of his influence against it, as Premier, and refused any longer to have the action of government controlled by men who had proved themselves, throughout the anti-slavery movement, as ignorant of the principles of political economy, as they were erroneous in their notions of human nature.

To afford a true idea of the embarrassments under which the English manufacturers labor, in reference to a supply of Cotton to keep their looms in motion, it is only necessary to state : that from 1830 to 1845, omitting 1837 and 1841, the *increase* in the consumption of Cotton in England, averaged, annually, nearly 35,000,000 lbs. The whole consumption, in 1830, was 247,600,000 lbs. and in 1845 it had risen as before stated, to 626,496,000 lbs. But in 1845 her consumption of Cotton had reached its maximum, and she has not since manufactured so large a quantity, in any one year, by two or three millions of pounds. The reason of this is fully explained in the London Economist and other British periodicals. Her supplies of Cotton from all other countries, except the United States, had been diminishing for many years, save when excessively high prices diverted a larger portion from India to England. The *ratio of increase* in the production of Cotton, in the United States, has been only about three per cent. per annum, or nearly equal to the natural increase of her slave population. Beyond this ratio of increase, the production of Cotton in the United States cannot extend, excepting so far as new and richer lands are obtained and cultivated ; and, even then, an increase from this cause cannot be permanent, as much of the Cotton lands of the South have been worn out and abandoned, and much more must share the same fate. The ratio of increase in the production of Cotton, in the United States, cannot, therefore, rise permanently much beyond three per cent. per annum.

Now, we wish it noted, particularly, that the ratio of increase in the manufacture of Cotton, in the United States and the continent of Europe, equals this three per cent. per annum, and takes up the whole increased production of the United States. Owing to the disturbances in Europe, of a political nature, the manufacturing interests on the con-

continent have been somewhat deranged, but at the opening of 1850, the condition of this question was as we have stated.

England, then, has been left without the means of procuring a sufficient supply of Cotton for her manufactories; and has been driven to extraordinary efforts, for some years past, to remedy this evil. These efforts need not be noticed in detail: they were begun in India, extended to Australia, to South Africa, and last of all to Liberia. The results of these attempts have been rather discouraging, generally, and, in some instances, total failures, except in Liberia; where the soil, climate, and population, afford hopes of complete success, when the new Republic shall have sufficient capital to employ the native labor within its borders.

And here we may be allowed to remark, that it does not appear to be so much from a dislike to the use of the slave grown Cotton of Brazil and the United States, that England is seeking supplies from other countries, as because she cannot obtain enough of it to meet her wants. After using 552,500,000 lbs. of slave grown cotton annually, and but 71,469,000 lbs. of free labor origin, it need not be claimed that the Cotton lords of England have any scruples of conscience on that score.

But we must advert to another aspect of this great question.

When a skillful general has to contend with a powerful foe, he never rushes recklessly on to the contest, relying for victory upon mere bravery; but surveys the enemy's movements and position with care, aims at discovering his plans, and then attacks the posts of most vital importance to his adversary. It cannot, justly, be claimed that the English anti-slavery efforts have been conducted upon this principle; but it can be shown that the slave trader, and those interested in sustaining his unholy traffic, have acted upon it, and, until very recently, have gained strength and superior advantages from every movement made for the suppression of that traffic.

It can also be shown that the signal failure of West India free labor, so unexpected to the emancipationists, and so destructive to the West India planters, was, in a good degree, the legitimate result of the slave trade. Look at the facts. The constant and cheap supply of slaves to the planters of Cuba, enabled them to produce Sugar at £12 the ton; while in the English West Indies, under freedom, the planters have been unable to produce it for less than £20 the ton, though paying the free laborer but 18½ to 25 cents per day, as wages, the workman boarding himself. Such wages being insufficient to allure the freeman to the toils of the sugar mills, or to induce him to allow his wife or daughters to go there, except from necessity, the planters, unable to pay more, at the prices their Sugar bore in market, could not compete with the Cuban slave holders, and had to abandon their estates. It was thus that the slave trade crippled English West India cultivation, and rendered it wholly powerless as a competitor to slave labor; and it was thus, again, that slavery was made to react so as to sustain the slave trade.

The same remarks will apply to the cultivation of Coffee, and the same results, nearly, have followed, in all cases, where either *manumitted* free labor, or *Pagan* free labor have come into competition with African slave labor, in the production of the commodities which we have been considering. Here are the facts:

Brazil and the Spanish West Indies, excluding Cuba, exported, in



1832, only 94,080,000 lbs. of Coffee; but after the English emancipation of 1833, the enormous importation of slaves into the former countries, enabled them to run up their production so as to export, in 1848, the immense quantity of 313,600,000 lbs. of this article. See the enormous power of the slave trade! In 16 years it enabled these countries to increase their coffee exports from 94,080,000 lbs. to 313,600,000 lbs.!

On the other hand, Hayti, the British West Indies, Ceylon, Mocha, and India, all free labor countries, exported less in 1848, by 6,000,000 lbs., than they had done in 1832.

Java and Sumatra, also free labor countries, though increasing their exports of Coffee from 60,480,000 lbs., in 1832, to 156,800,000 lbs. in 1843; yet, owing to the extreme low prices, in the following years, arising from the heavy supplies from Brazil, they allowed their exports to fall off, in 1848, 12,400,000 lbs. below what it was in 1843.

Cuba, employing slave labor, diminished her coffee exports, it is true, from 49,280,000 lbs., in 1832, to 22,400,000 lbs. in 1848; but it was only to increase her sugar exports from about 100,000,000 lbs. to near 600,000,000 lbs. per annum, and to give the death blow to its production, by free labor, in the British West Indies.

Here, now, without further details, are facts enough to enable thinking men to discern how far the failure of free labor tropical cultivation is due to the slave trade; and to convince them that not only in Sugar and Coffee, throughout the whole field of their production, but in Cotton, too, has manumitted free labor, as well as pagan free labor, failed to sustain itself in competition with African slave labor; and that the slave trade has embarrassed, discouraged, and almost ruined free labor tropical cultivation.

But let us look a little more closely at the position into which this tremendous agent of evil, the slave trade, has thrown the Christian world. By introducing a savage population into new and rising Christian States, where labor was much in demand, it has checked the progress of civilization, and entailed evils that the wisdom of man is unable to remove. By multiplying at will the number of slaves in the world, it has cast a blight upon free labor within the tropics. By rapidly augmenting the supplies of slave labor products, at cheap rates, it has driven those of free labor from the markets, except at ruinous prices, and thus has it successfully paralyzed the arm of the freeman. By securing to slave labor the monopoly of the markets for its products, it has compelled the Christian world to become the prop of that system, by making it necessary that she should consume its fruits. By this decrease of free labor products, it has placed slavery, apparently, upon an immovable basis, enabling it to bid defiance to its enemies, and to force England, the most deeply interested of all nations in its destruction, to become its principal supporter. Thus, the day of freedom for the slave, it would seem, is prolonged, and the hope of the philanthropist almost ready to expire. Here, now, is the position in which this momentous question stood at the opening of 1851.

But before the close of that year, we heard the cheering declaration, by the British Prime Minister, that the slave trade was virtually at an end. Tired of diplomacy with Brazil, and wearied with repeated violations of treaties, on the part of that government, the English squadron

was sent to her coast, and, by firing into the slave trading vessels in her ports, brought her to terms. Brazil at once agreed to prohibit the traffic in slaves to her citizens, and it is confidently believed that she will now act in good faith, inasmuch as she will be closely watched by England.

That the boast of the British Premier was no idle one, is proved by the parliamentary reports of the present year, on the Brazilian slave trade; which show that only about 3,000 slaves had been smuggled into Brazil during the past year, while the number introduced during the five preceding years, had been from 50,000 to 60,000.

The Queen of England, in her speech of the 15th August, 1852, at the prorogation of Parliament, says: "Treaties have been concluded by my naval commanders, with the king of Dahomey and all the African chiefs whose rule extends along the Bight of Benin, for the total abolition of the slave trade, which at present is wholly suppressed upon that post."

The recent purchase of the territory between Liberia and Sierra Leone, by President Roberts, upon which our Ohio colony is to be planted, has placed the whole of that part of the coast under the jurisdiction of the Liberian authorities, and forever rendered the slave trade illegal throughout its former strong holds in the Gallinas and Grand Cape Mount.

We may, therefore, say, remarks the editor of a leading Boston paper, that there is not now, on the whole coast of Africa, a single open, legalized slave mart for the foreign trade. Slaves may, and no doubt will be smuggled from Africa, as long as Cuba encourages the traffic; but there is no longer any place on that continent, where slaves can be openly collected and kept for the foreign market and sold to foreign traders, under cover of African laws.

This, then, is a new and most important fact, to be added to those which we have noticed in our rapid review of the present condition of free labor and slave labor, and it must produce great revolutions in the questions we have been considering. Let us, therefore, proceed to take a calm and dispassionate review of the history of past events and results, so as to form a sound judgment of what will be the practical effects of the suppression of the slave trade, upon the interests of free labor and slave labor respectively. As the prosecution of that traffic, by supplying an abundance of laborers, at cheap rates, has paralyzed free labor tropical cultivation, every where, and secured to slave labor the principal monopoly of the markets of the world for its products, let us see what results may be anticipated from the suppression of the slave trade and the consequent suspension of the supplies of slaves from Africa to the planters of Cuba and Brazil.

As like causes produce like effects, under similar circumstances, we must see if a like event with the present suppression of the slave trade, has before occurred, and then ascertain the results that followed. A case precisely parallel, is afforded in the history of the prohibition of the slave trade, to the British West India planters, by the English Parliament.

These planters, up to 1806, had received from the slave traders an uninterrupted supply of laborers, and had rapidly extended their cultivation as commerce increased its demands for their products. Let us take the results in Jamaica as an example of the whole of the British

West India Islands. She had increased her exports of sugar from a yearly average of 123,979,000 lbs. in 1772-3, to 234,700,000 lbs. in 1805-6. No diminution of exports had occurred, as has been asserted by some anti-slavery writers, before the prohibition of the slave trade. The increase was progressive and undisturbed, except so far as affected by seasons more or less favorable. But no sooner was her supply of slaves cut off, by the Act of 1806, which took effect in 1808, than the exports of Jamaica began to diminish, until her sugar had fallen off from 1822 to 1832, to an annual average of 131,129,000 lbs., or nearly to what they had been sixty years before. It was not until 1833 that the Emancipation Act was passed; so that this decline in the exports of Jamaica, took place under all the rigors of West India slavery.

The cause of this decline in the exports of the British West India colonies, is easily explained. The planters preferred *males* as laborers, and the slave traders imported males, principally, from Africa, to sell to them. As soon, therefore, as the supplies were withheld, the slave population began to diminish, by the usual mortality among the adults; so that, at the end of about twenty-three years, according to Buxton, instead of any increase, they had decreased from 800,000 to 700,000. The result of this movement was, that the exports from the whole British West Indies, were reduced one-third below what they had been before the prohibition of the slave trade.

Now, let us inquire a moment into the condition of Cuba and Brazil, which have been as fully dependent upon the slave trade for their supply of laborers, as the British West Indies were before 1808.

A census of Cuba, a few years since, showed that out of a slave population of 425,000 there were but 150,000 females. The slave population of Brazil is believed to be composed of about the same disproportion in the sexes as that of Cuba. The rate of mortality among adult slaves, imported from Africa, is very great, being in Brazil, as before stated, near ten per cent. per annum, and requiring a renewal of that class of slaves, on the plantations, once in ten years.

It is very easy, with these lights before us, to foresee what must be the effect of the suppression of the slave trade on Cuba and Brazil. The supply of slaves being cut off, the deaths must, in a few years, equalize the sexes, and result in a great decrease of the slave population. This must produce a corresponding diminution in their exports, for many years, extending, annually, to at least one-third their former amount. This decrease in the supply of slave labor products, will create a corresponding increase of their prices in the markets. But this enhancement of their value will not compensate the Cuban and Brazilian slave holders for their diminished production and the losses in the number of their slaves. The suppression of the slave trade, then, will be a serious pecuniary loss to the slaveholders of these two countries.

But who are to be benefited by this revolution in slave labor countries, hitherto dependent upon the slave trade? Undoubtedly, the benefits will be enjoyed by free labor, wherever it is employed in the cultivation of similar products; and by slave labor in countries not depending upon the African slave trade. This stimulus to industry, then, will reach Hayti, the British West Indies, and Liberia, to prompt their freemen to greater industry, by the prospect of better compensation



for their labor. As the supplies of slave-grown products diminish, and the prices increase, free labor products must be multiplied, and free labor itself, in some degree, be released from its embarrassments.

But this stimulus of higher prices will reach the United States in a much greater degree, because our slaveholders are prepared, at once, to avail themselves of these advantages, and it will add to the stability of slavery, by increasing the price of its products, and enhancing the value of the slaves. Already the short supply of Cotton, before noticed, has vastly increased the value of both Cotton and slaves, and the suppression of the slave trade, at this juncture, must greatly add to the advantages of the slaveholder of the United States.

After all the efforts, therefore, that have been made for the destruction of slavery, during a half century of unwearied exertion, the progress of events has so complicated this great problem, that at the very moment when the slave trade is supposed to be extinguished, or nearly so, and tropical free labor left unshackled, the Christian world is more deeply indebted to slave labor than at any former period, and the slavery of the United States rendered more permanent and profitable, to all human appearance, than at any time since its origin.

If any one doubts the justness of this conclusion, as a fair deduction from the facts which have been presented, we most sincerely and earnestly invite him to show us our error, as our only aim is the discovery of truth, in the light of which alone, can we hope to discover the path of duty, in relation to the great questions connected with the redemption of the African race.

The investigations now completed, have conducted us to a most interesting conclusion, and brought out results wholly different, no doubt, from what most of our readers have been anticipating. They are, however, legitimate deductions from the facts connected with the subject, and show, most conclusively, that the question of slavery, in our country, is placed upon new grounds.

It shows, also, that those who have had the control of the anti-slavery movements, have manifested little foresight in their policy, as nearly every measure adopted to check or suppress the evils of slavery and the slave trade, have been followed by results the reverse of what they expected, and were laboring to secure. But we have no disposition to find fault, our only aim being to point to the bearing that the new order of things must have upon African Colonization and the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia.

While our researches have revealed the immense extent to which the Christian world is now consuming slave-grown products, at the same time the utmost capacity of slave labor, to meet the demands of commerce, has also been discovered. This is something gained. In the United States, the ratio of increase in the annual production of Cotton, keeps even pace with the natural increase of the slaves, and nothing more. Our sugar growers cannot go beyond this, except as they draw off the laborers from the cotton fields. Thus stands the slave labor of the United States.

The slave population of Cuba and Brazil, should the slave trade be effectually suppressed, will soon be placed upon the same basis as that of the United States. The planters there, will have no increase of



laborers, excepting from the natural increase of the slaves. The reduction of the slave population, by the death of the excess of males, judging from the results in the English colonies, after 1808, will not be made up by the natural increase, in less than thirty years. Until that occurs, Cuba and Brazil will be unable to keep their exports up to the present amount. The exports of the English colonies, upon the prohibition of the slave trade, fell off one-third, and a like result may now be expected in Brazil and Cuba.

Under these circumstances, the utmost capacity of slave labor, in tropical and semi-tropical cultivation, can be accurately estimated, and the extent of its supplies to commerce be clearly foreseen. This will enable the friends of free labor to measure the strength and resources of the forces with which they must compete—a thing that was impossible under the reign of the slave trade. But on this point we shall not speculate.

The present inability of free labor and slave labor, both combined, to meet the demands of commerce, and the reduction of cultivation that must occur in Cuba and Brazil, will leave a vacuum in the markets, for tropical products, to be filled from other sources, or to give an increased value to the amount that can be supplied from the present fields of cultivation.

But who is to be enriched by this result? Who is to supply the deficit, and reap the golden harvest it will afford? Or, in default of augmented cultivation, who are to have their coffers made to overflow by an increase in the price of the productions they are able to furnish? These questions are worth considering, and we must give them a moment's attention.

The English West India free labor colonies cannot be much benefited, at present, by this increased demand for tropical products, as they cannot, immediately, increase their cultivation to any great extent. This will be readily admitted, when it is stated that the lands in these colonies are mostly held by white men, who reside in England; and that the colored men in the islands own but a few acres each—barely enough, generally, to afford the necessary amount of food for their families.

But already the West India landholders are bestirring themselves at the brightening prospects, and are appealing to the free colored people of the United States, to rush over to the islands, become loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, and faithful laborers on the plantations of English gentlemen! Our free colored men, however, deserve something better than this, and they know it: and they give indications of a determination to reject the proffered boon of becoming mere laborers in the sugar mills of the West Indies, especially as they cannot expect over *fifty cents* per day, as wages.

Doubtless, an increase of wages will now command more of the native labor of these islands, than at any time since emancipation, and tend to multiply their exports; but no great advancement can be made until the intelligence of the colored people is raised much above the present standard, by more extensive means of education than now prevail, nor even then, until they become the owners of the soil.

As Hayti still exports about one-third of her former amount of Coffee, she will be benefited by the rise in the price of that article; but as her

Sugar and Cotton cultivation has been greatly neglected for many years, she will derive little present advantage from that quarter by any increased demand.

Liberia, with only eight or nine thousand colonists, and eighty thousand partially civilized natives, mostly engaged in trade, or in producing food for home consumption, cannot derive any material benefit from an increased demand for Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for some years to come. Her citizens, however, are now turning attention to their cultivation with encouraging success; and British capitalists offer to her citizens any amount of means for the employment of native labor in the cultivation of Cotton. Liberia can command an unbounded extent of fertile tropical lands, well adapted to the cultivation of all the three great staples upon which slave labor is now chiefly employed. She has within her own jurisdiction at least 300,000 natives, mostly uncivilized, and is backed in the interior and flanked on the west and east by untold millions who must ultimately be redeemed from barbarism. All this labor she must one day control. But as she has not now a sufficient number of men to carry on the work of civilization, and to control this labor, her wealth cannot be greatly augmented by any extent of demand for articles she is not producing.

Recent experiments in Australia, for the cultivation of Cotton, are said to have been eminently successful, but the still more recent discovery of gold in that country has drawn off the laborers from the cotton cultivation to the more tempting occupation of gold digging.

It appears from these statements, that no tropical free labor country can derive much immediate benefit from an increased demand for tropical products; and that the great practical good derived from it is only a consciousness that the slave trade can no longer paralyze tropical free labor and render the fruits of its industry valueless in the markets of the world. This, however, is one great point gained, and constitutes an era in the history of the African race.

The parties, then, who will necessarily be benefited in the greatest degree, by the suppression of the slave trade, will be the native population of Africa and the slaveholders in the United States. All free labor countries, it is true, will be stimulated to immediate action, but they will require time to realize much of the benefits of the coming changes in the condition of slavery. The natives of Africa will merely be freed from their greatest curse, and be better prepared for civilization. Then, it is evident, that in the suppression of the slave trade, the slaveholders of the United States, alone, of all the parties named, will at once enter upon the enjoyment of the benefits of these changes, and will continue to be enriched thereby, until free labor multiplies its forces and throws into the markets a sufficient amount of products to supply the demand and reduce the prices.

But can free labor do this in a day, a year, or ten years? Certainly not. The task, however, has been begun, and in the only mode, and on the only territory in which it can succeed; and, but for the unfortunate opposition of the Abolitionists, this work might have been in a much greater state of forwardness than we now find it. That mode is *to employ the labor of Africa within Africa*. Many moderate anti-slavery men, who have hitherto opposed us in this effort to call out free

labor in Africa, are now giving up their opposition to Colonization; being convinced that the good of the colored men themselves, as well as the interests of free labor, can be most efficiently promoted by emigration to Liberia. But others are still violently opposed to Colonization.

Leaving out the 500,000 free colored persons of the United States, and there are but about one million and three quarters of African freemen employed in the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for export, while the slave population, now similarly employed, is not less than six millions and three quarters! Allowing the decrease of the slave population, in Cuba and Brazil, that will follow the suppression of the slave trade, only to equal that in the English colonies, after 1808, and there will still be left at least six millions of slaves as competitors against one million and three quarters of freemen.

Now, the contest, if conducted with these forces alone, will be an unequal one, as the degree of intelligence among the majority of the emancipated West India people is but a few degrees higher than that of the natives of Africa, and their voluntary industry will be proportionally unproductive.

In stating the strength of the free labor forces, employed as rivals to slave labor, we have not included the 500,000 free colored men of the United States. This was intentional, as they do not belong to the forces *practically* arrayed against slavery. On the contrary, they are, to the utmost of their pecuniary ability, as a body, engaged in its support. We speak knowingly, and mean what we say and beg to be heard.

It is the extensive demand for slave labor products, and the profits on their sale, which is the main prop of slavery. Destroy this demand, and slave labor becomes valueless. Let the consumers become producers, and the task is accomplished to the full extent of the change effected. Draw off enough of the consumers into the ranks of the producers, to supply the demand for slave grown products, at lower rates than slave labor can afford them; and the whole system must be paralyzed, just as certainly as the cheap slave labor, supplied by the slave trade, was ruinous to free labor.

But the free colored people of the United States, instead of being thus arrayed against slavery, by remaining here, are practically sustaining that institution, and perpetuating it as far as the patronage of a half million of customers can lend it support.

How are they doing this? The colored people have sworn eternal enmity to slavery, and have pledged themselves to struggle for its downfall; how is it, then, that they can be thus engaged, perseveringly, in the support of an institution towards which they bear an unbounded hatred?

Well, they are doing it in this way, and, like the Christian world at large, they are supporting slavery from necessity. At a moderate estimate, each free colored person purchases, annually, three dollars' worth of cotton goods for clothing. This gives a support to slave labor, and its manufacturing allies, of one million and a half of dollars a year; an amount more than equal to the whole sum expended in founding the Republic of Liberia; and which, if invested in the hire of native labor in Africa, would employ over 60,000 freemen in the cultivation of Cotton, and give a tremendous impulse to free labor.

We know the free colored people did not mean so, but for all practical purposes, in the contest for African freedom, they have, all along, been fighting on the wrong side!

But what can these 500,000 free colored people do, to prevent the profitable extension of slave labor, now appearing so inevitable in consequence of its advantageous position! Shall they fight? That is a hopeless remedy. Shall they remain here to agitate the question, and continue the consumption of slave grown products? The past history of this mode of warfare, proves it powerless in promoting their object. What can they do, then, to secure to free labor at least the benefits of the increasing demands for tropical products, and thus limit slavery to its present advantages, and prevent its further extension? Surely, the answer is a plain one. Let these 500,000 free colored persons become producers of free labor products, instead of consumers of those that are slave grown, and let them call to their aid ten times their own numbers, and soon their weight, as a people, would be felt and acknowledged by the Christian world. But there is no country in the world, except Africa, where a sufficient amount of laborers can be found to affect this great question.

And here now, allow us to say, that the whole practical tendency of Colonization, so far as it has reference to the free colored people, from the day of its origin, has been to array them on the side of free labor; and that, too, under such circumstances as would best promote their own interests and that of their children, and advance the cause of human freedom in Africa and throughout the world. For, so long as Africa remains barbarous, just so long will the people of color, scattered throughout the world, be reckoned as an inferior race, not capable of enjoying equal rights with the white races among whom they dwell.

And allow us to say, further, that we do not expect that these 500,000 free colored persons, by emigrating to Liberia, will be able, by the labor of their own hands to compete with the slave labor still employed in tropical cultivation, and to secure to themselves, at once, all the benefits of the increasing demands of commerce for the productions of the tropics: but we do say, that they will be equal participants in it, and that there is no other possible mode of employing the African free labor within Africa, and making it rival African slave labor in other countries, but by the emigration of intelligent colored men to that continent, to take its labor under their care and give it a proper direction.

And is not the control of the labor of Africa sufficiently valuable to tempt the enterprise of intelligent colored men to secure its possession? Heretofore nations have contended for its monopoly, and is it not worth the attention of individuals? Look at what African labor has done out of Africa, and then judge of its capabilities if employed within Africa; and judge, also, of the priceless boon which southern slaveholders bestow upon their bondmen, when they offer them freedom in Liberia!

Hitherto the thousands of millions of dollars' worth of products, transported by commerce to the ends of the earth, from the tropical and semi-tropical districts of the Western Hemisphere, to aggrandize the nations who possessed their control, have all been created by the strong arms and broken hearts of the sons and daughters of Africa. Century after century, Africa's children have been torn from her bosom, to labor for



the enrichment of strangers, and to die and be forgotten as the brutes of the field ! Nor was this accomplished but by dreadful losses of human life — losses, which, if occurring in any ordinary branch of commerce, would lead to its abandonment as a ruinous speculation. Look at these losses but a moment : for each 300 men, made available to the planter, by the slave trade, Africa had to lose 1,000 — the 700 perishing in the casualties attending the traffic. Tropical cultivation must be vastly profitable to bear such losses as this. And yet, with all these disadvantages, what has not slave labor accomplished in the production of wealth ! Take as an example, the slave grown crops of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for a single year, namely, 1849, and their market value, at only eight and one-half cents per pound, was over *two hundred and thirty millions of dollars ! !*

Now if African labor, after the destruction of seven-tenths, to make three-tenths available, has enriched half the nations of the world, and now supplies the basis of two-thirds of their commerce, what may not be expected for Africa herself, when all her labor shall become available for her own aggrandizement ?

And, need we repeat, that Colonization is but a broad scheme of *intervention*, for securing to Africa the benefits of her own labor ; that Liberia is but the foundation stone of the glorious temple, yet to be reared in Africa, to freedom and to God ; that the part we ask our free colored people to perform, is but to perfect this work of benevolence and love ; that without their aid, the development of the resources of Africa must be slow, and slave labor be left, almost without a rival, to extend itself upon this continent, crushing free labor and the colored freeman both into the dust ; and that, though there will be six millions of slaves, against whom to do battle in the markets of the world, the free colored people, by removing to Africa, will have one hundred millions of their own race to summon to their aid, in sustaining themselves in this final struggle for the social, civil, and religious redemption of themselves and of the long benighted land of their fathers.

And who will now dare to oppose Colonization, and say, that Africa, after enriching the world by her labor, shall not now receive back to her embrace, enough of her captive children to secure to herself the profits of her industry ! Who will be bold enough to deny to her enough of her enlightened sons, to organize her scattered tribes into one great nation, enabling her to become the gigantic commercial country, for which she is so eminently fitted by her immense population and wonderful agricultural resources !

With such facts before him, as are embraced in these pages, who can fail to foresee the results of the new contest that is commencing, and to realize that the triumph or defeat of tropical free labor, is dependent upon the course of action adopted by the colored freemen of the United States. Truly, may it be said, that the destiny of Africa, and the African race, is now in their hands ! And, with equal truth, may we not assert, that opposition to Colonization, is opposition to the extension of Free Labor and must tend to the perpetuation of slavery.

## *Does the Slave Trade and Slavery exist among Liberians?*

THE organization of the Republic of Liberia, has effected a radical change in the commercial regulations within the territory over which it claims jurisdiction. The laws of the Republic have interfered with the business of the merchants trading on that coast, by requiring that they shall now pay duties on the goods sold to the natives, where formerly they could traffic freely, without being interrupted by tariffs. This change in the mode of conducting their trade, has lessened the profits of the merchants, and has enraged, against the Republic, that class of men who have been more anxious to amass fortunes than to promote the social and moral welfare of the African people.

The feebleness of the little Republic seems to have led this class of men to believe, that, if they could succeed in persuading Christian nations to withdraw their protection, the settlements might easily be destroyed by hostile natives, or the government compelled to relinquish its claims to the exercise of sovereignty. In either case, the trade of the coast would be restored to its previous condition, and they left in the possession of their former advantages.

The most artful and successful mode of attack upon Liberia, has been to represent the Colonists as aiding in the slave trade, and as subjecting the natives to slavery. This charge has been so often repeated, that the friends of Liberia, in England, have investigated the subject, and the following testimony, from men of the highest character in the British Navy, has been collected and laid before the public. Other testimony, equally conclusive, might be added, but what is here appended, is considered as amply sufficient to stamp the charges as infamously false.

But we must first, state that the Constitution framed for the Colonists, by the American Colonization Society, and by which they were governed from 1825 to 1836, declared, "Art. V. There shall be no slavery in the settlement;" and, further, that in 1839, a Legislative Council was created in Liberia, and the Constitution remodeled, so as to read thus:

ART. 20. "There shall be no slavery in the Commonwealth."

ART. 22. "There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same."

In 1847, the Colony declared itself an Independent Republic, with the following language in its Constitution:

"ART. I.—Sec. 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and among their natural inherent and inalienable rights, are the rights of enjoying and defending *life and liberty*."

Sec. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic.

Sec. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

In testimony of her sincerity, in reference to human rights, in her Treaty with England, which went into operation in April, 1850, Liberia binds herself as follows:

ART. 9. "Slavery and the slave trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law shall be passed declaring it to be piracy for *any Liberian citizen* or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the slave trade."

New for the testimony in relation to the faithfulness with which all these articles have been executed. [We quote from the Colonization Herald, Dec. 1852.]

"Captain Arabian, R. N., in one of his despatches says: "Nothing has been done more to suppress the slave trade in this quarter, than the constant intercourse of the natives with these industrious colonists;" and, again: "Their character is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feeling; and their domestic habits, remarkably neat and comfortable." "Wherever the influence of Liberia extends, the slave trade has been abandoned by the natives."

Lieutenant Stott, R. N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, dated July, 1840, says, it (Liberia) promises to be the only successful institution on the coast of Africa, keeping in mind its objects, viz: "that of raising the African slave into a free man; the extinction of the slave trade; and the religious and moral improvement of Africa;" and adds. "The surrounding Africans are aware of the nature of the colony, taking refuge when persecuted by the few neighboring slave traders. The remnant of a tribe have lately fled to and settled in the colony on land granted them. Between my two visits, a lapse of only a few days, four or five slaves sought refuge from their master, who was about to sell or had sold them to the only slave factory on the coast. The native chiefs in the neighborhood have that respect for the colonists, that they have made treaties for the abolition of the slave trade."

Captain Irving, R. N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, August 3d, 1840, observes: "You ask me if they aid in the slave trade. I assure you, no! and I am sure the colonists would feel themselves much hurt should they know such a question could possibly arise in England. In my opinion it is the best and safest plan for the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa; for it is a well known fact that wherever their flag flies it is an eye sore to the slave dealers."

Captain Herbert, R. N.: "With regard to the present state of slave taking in the colony of Liberia, I have never known one instance of a slave being owned or disposed of by a colonist. On the contrary, I have known them to render great facility to our cruisers there in taking vessels engaged in that nefarious traffic."

Captain Dunlop, who had abundant opportunities for becoming acquainted with Liberia during the years 1848, '49, and '50, says: "I am perfectly satisfied no such thing as domestic slavery exists, in any shape amongst the citizens of the Republic."

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, Commander-in-chief of H. B. Majesty's squadron on the Western Coast of Africa, in a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated April 7, 1847, and published in the Parliamentary Returns, says: "On perusing the correspondence of my predecessors, I found a great difference of opinion existing as to the views and objects of the settlers; some even accusing the governor of lending himself to the slave trade. After discussing the whole subject with officers and others best qualified to judge on the matter, I not only satisfied my own mind that there is no reasonable cause for such a suspicion, but further, that this establishment merits all the support we can give it; for it is only through their means that we can hope to improve the African race." Subsequently, in 1849, the same officer gave his testimony before the House of Lords, in the following language: "There is no necessity for the squadron watching the coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, as the Liberian territory intervenes, and there the slave trade has been extinguished."

## PART FIFTH.

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IN temporal affairs, experience supplies the best rule for the guidance of man. In spiritual concerns, the word of God is the law by which his conduct must be governed. In relation to the spread of the Gospel, while the Saviour has given a few general directions, as to the mode of its propagation, he has left much to human wisdom, as to the measures by which it is to be extended. Pagan countries differ so widely in their civil relations, social customs, superstitions, and degrees of intelligence, that corresponding variations must be made in the plans for their evangelization. Africa, when first visited by the Missionary, was one broad field of ignorance and barbarism. Its condition differed so widely from that of any other country, where missions had been established, that the efforts made for its redemption, could be little else than experiments.

The time has arrived when we may safely proceed to contrast the results of the several classes of missions in Africa, ascertain what experience teaches, and determine the rule by which the greatest progress is to be made, in the extension of Civilization and Christianity, in that land of darkness and desolation. This task we now propose to execute, and shall take up the several missions in the following order :

1. The missions founded in Liberia.
2. Those in the English colonies of Recaptured Africans.
3. Those among native tribes, beyond the protection of the colonies.
4. Those to the natives of South Africa, within the English colonies of white men.

### *I. The Missions founded in Liberia.*

REV. SAMUEL J. MILLS is called the father of our Foreign Missionary scheme. His heart first received the Divine impress of the spirit of missions, and through him it was communicated to others. "I think I can trust myself in the hands of God, and all that is dear to me; but I long to have the time arrive, when the Gospel shall be preached to the *poor Africans*." This language, entered in his diary, while a

student at College,\* proves that the thought of Africa was foremost in his mind. He beheld her captive children, dwelling in our midst, deeply degraded. From this condition they could not be elevated to the dignity of freemen. Christian philanthropy made the effort, but was unable to afford them relief.† Their country, too, was yet a bleeding victim, with few to pity and none to protect.

With the National Independence of our country, there arose higher conceptions of the individual man. This was a logical inference from the principles maintained. People found themselves capable of self-government; hence, the individual must possess the capacity for self-elevation. So reasoned the founders of our Republic; and, to this end, equal laws and privileges were secured to every citizen, that the improvement of all might be promoted. But in the case of the colored man, the National Government was powerless. It possessed neither the means, nor the constitutional authority, to change the relations in which he stood to the whites. It only remained, therefore, to make the colored man, himself, the instrument of his own redemption. No sooner had this thought sprung into existence, than it was seized by the Philanthropist; and, in his grasp, it suddenly expanded into the grand idea of making him also the agent for the deliverance of his country.

The time had come for SAMUEL J. MILLS to act. Five years had rolled away since his companions, whom he had enlisted in the cause—JUDSON, NEWELL, NOTT, HALL, and RICE—had gone to their fields of labor, in the East.‡ Africa, as well as Asia, was now remembered by the friends of Foreign Missions; and MILLS offered himself,§ to open the pathway for the colored man's return, with the Gospel of peace, to the home of his fathers. He accomplished his object, only to find his grave in the ocean, thus marking the way the captive must pursue to reach a land of freedom.

The exploration of Mr. MILLS, was made in company with the Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, under a commission from the American Colonization Society. His death was deeply lamented by the friends of Foreign Missions, but the importance of the cause in which he fell, justified the sacrifice. The favorable report made by Mr. BURGESS, enabled the Society to proceed in its enterprise. The first emigrants, 86 in number, sailed for Africa, February, 1820; and the Colony was first planted at Monrovia, January, 1822. The pecuniary income of the Society being small,|| the emigration was slow—only 1,232 persons having reached the Colony during the first 10 years. The average number of Colonists, up to the period when the Colony became independent, was only about 170 per annum: the average from the first

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\* 1806.

† Mr. Mills enlisted in this cause himself, but on the organization of the American Colonization Society, he embarked in it as the more practicable scheme.

‡ 1812. § 1817.

|| The receipts, for the first six years, averaged only \$3,276 per annum.



of January, 1848, to the close of 1852, has been 540 per annum: and for 1853, alone, it has been 732: thus showing a rapid increase since the establishment of the Republic. Previous to that date, three-fourths of the emigrants had been emancipated slaves, who received their freedom on condition of going to Liberia; but, since its independence, a largely increased proportion have been freemen.

We shall not enter upon the history of the trials to which Liberia has been subjected, as the main facts are familiar to every one. Her extermination by war, on the one hand, has been thrice attempted by the slave traders, through the agency of the native Africans; and, on the other hand, her ruin has been sought, in the destruction of the Colonization Society, by an immense moral force, at the head of which stood men who are now the avowed enemies of the Bible. Good men, who, for a time, were arrayed in opposition to Colonization, finding themselves involved in a crusade against the introduction of the Gospel into Africa, have, mostly, given in their adhesion to the cause, and left the repudiators of Christianity and the traffickers in human flesh, as the only enemies to African Colonization. The prayer of SAMUEL J. MILLS, for the introduction of the Gospel into Africa, has been heard, and Ethiopia now stretches forth her hands unto God.

In proceeding to the missionary history of Liberia, we shall begin with the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The mission in the Republic of Liberia, is her oldest in the Foreign field. The nucleus of this mission, consisted of several members, and one or two local preachers, of the Methodist Church, who went out with the first emigrants. In March, 1833, the Rev. Melville B. Cox, the first ordained missionary, landed in Monrovia. To maintain this mission, has cost much treasure, and many precious lives; but the fruits of it are inestimable. It is now formed into a regular Annual Conference, composed of three districts, each with a presiding elder, and having its circuits, stations, and day and Sunday schools. The mission now covers the whole territory of Liberia and that of Cape Palmas.\* The Conference consists of 21 members in full connection and on trial, all of whom are colored men. Its churches, according to the Agent's Report, 1853, embrace 1,301 members, of whom 116 are natives, and there are 115 probationers. The Mission has 15 Sunday schools, with 839 pupils, of whom 50 are natives; and 20 week-day schools, with 513 scholars. There are also 7 schools among the natives, with 127 pupils.

The sums appropriated to sustain this mission were, for 1851, \$22,000; for 1852, \$26,000; for 1853, \$32,957; and for 1854, \$32,957. This liberality is sufficiently expressive of the confidence of the Methodist Church in Liberia. The Report of the Board of Managers, for 1851, says:

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\* Cape Palmas, in its political organization, is a distinct colony from Liberia. It was established by Maryland, and has recently declared its independence. We shall speak of it, however, as a part of Liberia. Their territories lie contiguous, and the Missions of most of the Societies are common to both colonies.

"All eyes are now turned toward this New Republic on the Western coast of Africa, as the star of hope to the colored people, both bond and free, in the United States. The Republic is establishing and extending itself; and its Christian population is in direct contact with the natives, both Pagans and Mohammedans. Thus the Republic has, indirectly, a powerful missionary influence, and its moral and religious condition is a matter of grave concern to the Church. Hence, the Protestant Christian missions in Liberia, are essential to the stability and prosperity of the Republic; and the stability and prosperity of the Republic are necessary to the protection and action of the missions. It will thus appear, (concludes the Report,) that the Christian education of the people, is the legitimate work of the missions."

Governed by these considerations, the Methodists have erected a seminary building, in Monrovia, at a cost of \$10,000, which is now affording instruction to youth in the higher departments of science and literature.

The Report for 1853,\* speaks still more encouragingly of the mission in Liberia. It says:

"The value of this mission is, perhaps, inconceivable: it not only dispenses the word of life to the people, but it contributes largely to the maintenance of good morals and good order in the Republic, and thus strengthens and assists in preserving the State. In this way it indirectly contributes to make the Republic of Liberia a steady light, beckoning the free colored people of this country to a land where they can be truly free and equal, and where only they can be truly men and govern themselves. The mission is thus assisting the State to give a triumphant answer to our Southern States when they ask, If we set the slave population at liberty, where can they go and be free and prosperous? This is a result of immense value. It probably contains the solution of the question of American slavery—that great mystery of iniquity which dims the otherwise resplendent light of our glorious Republic. And yet, further, this African mission in the Republic of Liberia is a steady and shining light to the western portions of Africa, where now reigns the most degrading, cruel, and destructive superstitions to be found in the world. Until within a quarter of a century past, many thousands of human victims have been sacrificed annually, in their cruel and dark religious rites, within sight of the coast; and not very far removed from the coast these sacrifices still continue, to an extent of which it makes one shudder to think, much less to behold. Can the Church waver in her support of such a mission on the Western coast of Africa. She will not."

By order of the General Conference, Bishop Scott made an official visit to Liberia, at the close of 1852, and returned in April, 1853—having spent seventy days in the Colonies. He represents the spirit-

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\* *Missionary Advocate*, April, 1853.

ual condition of the Mission as, generally, healthy and prosperous ; and the work as going steadily onward. In relation to the civil and social condition of the Colony, the Bishop bears the following testimony :

“The government of the Republic of Liberia, which is formed on the model of our own, and is wholly in the hands of colored men, seems to be exceedingly well administered. I never saw so orderly a people. I saw but one intoxicated colonist while in the country, and I heard not one profane word. The Sabbath is kept with singular strictness, and the churches crowded with attentive and orderly worshippers.”\*

But, as regards the missions among the natives, the Bishop says, very little indeed has been done—much less than the friends of the mission seem to have good reason to expect—much less than he himself expected. The result of his inquiries is by no means flattering, and he felt, and feared that the Board would feel, disappointed. These results, however, he says, are not due to any want of faithfulness on the part of the missionaries ; as other denominations have not been more successful—perhaps not quite so much so—but are the result of the peculiar condition of the native population. These peculiarities will be noticed under the head of the native missions.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION, commenced its mission in Liberia, in 1822, under the care of the Rev. Lot Carey and the Rev. Collin Teage ; who had been ordained to the ministry, in Richmond, Virginia, January, 1821. They were both colored men, and possessed of much intelligence and energy. They commenced their labors in Monrovia, in the infant colony of Liberia, and founded a Church during the first year. Lot Carey was chosen pastor of the Church, and Mr. Teage removed for a time to Sierra Leone. “In the performance of his duties as a missionary, Mr. Carey evinced remarkable energy and faithfulness. He was born a slave in Virginia, but many years before leaving Richmond he had purchased his freedom and that of his two children, and had acquired the rudiments of a superior education, and proved himself worthy of the highest trusts in the business with which he was charged. On the pestilential shores of Africa he soon found occasion for all the knowledge he had acquired, both among his fellow emigrants and the rude barbarians from the interior with whom they became associated. By his acquaintance with medicine, he healed their maladies ; by his sagacity in civil affairs, he settled their disputes and aided in the organization of their infant society ; and by his earnestness and power as a preacher, he commended the Gospel to their hearts and consciences with unusual success.”†

In 1825, the Rev. Calvin Holton, a white man, went out as a mis-

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\* Letter to the Colonization Herald—October, 1853.

† Gammel's History of the American Baptist Missions.

sionary, but died almost immediately after his arrival. "The mission continued to be sustained by Mr. Carey, with the aid of two or three pious assistants from among the emigrants. The resources by which it was kept alive were supplied almost entirely by his own efforts, as the funds which were furnished by the Board were of necessity at this time exceedingly limited. The labors of the mission were bestowed upon the emigrant colonists, and also, as far as possible, upon the natives of the country, who had either been rescued from slave-ships and settled upon the coast, or had voluntarily come in from the neighboring wilderness to join the colonies of their more civilized brethren. Mr. Carey in this manner preached and maintained schools at Monrovia, and also at Grand Cape Mount, among the Veys, one of the most powerful and intelligent of the tribes on the coast. At these and other settlements he was the life and soul of nearly all the religious efforts and operations that were carried on. He preached several times every week, superintended schools both for religious and secular instruction,—in some of which he taught himself,—traveled from one settlement to another, and watched with constant vigilance and unremitting care over all the spiritual and the social interests of the colonists.

"In September, 1826, he was unanimously elected vice-agent of the colony, and on the return of Mr. Ashmun to the United States, in 1828, he was appointed to discharge the duties of Governor in the interim—a task which he performed during the brief remnant of his life with wisdom, and with credit to himself. His death took place in a manner that was fearfully sudden and extraordinary. The natives of the country had committed depredations upon the property of the colony, and were threatening general hostilities. Mr. Carey, in his capacity as acting Governor, immediately called out the military forces of the colony, and commenced vigorous measures for repelling the assault and protecting the settlements. He was at the magazine, engaged in superintending the making of cartridges, when, by the oversetting of a lamp, a large mass of powder became ignited, and produced an explosion which resulted in the death of Mr. Carey and seven others who were engaged with him. In this sudden and awful manner perished an extraordinary man,—one who in a higher sphere might have developed many of the noblest energies of character, and who, even in the humble capacity of a missionary among his own benighted brethren, deserves a prominent place in the list of those who have shed luster upon the African race.

"At the period of Mr. Carey's death, the Church, of which he was the pastor, contained 100 members, and was in a highly flourishing condition. It was committed to the charge of Collin Teage, who now returned from Sierra Leone, and of Mr. Waring, one of its members, who had lately been ordained a minister. The influences which had commenced with the indefatigable founder of the mission continued to be felt long after he had ceased to live. The Church at Monrovia was increased



to 200 members, and the power of the Gospel was manifested in other settlements of the Colonization Society, and even among the rude natives of the coast, of whom nearly 100 were converted to Christianity and united with the several churches of the colony.”\*

In December, 1830, Rev. B. Skinner, a white man, with his wife and two children, reached Monrovia, to take charge of the mission. They were all seized with the African fever, soon after landing, and Mrs. Skinner and the children died. Mr. S. so far recovered as to embark for home, in July following, but died the twentieth day of the passage.

In 1834, Dr. Skinner, the father of the missionary, went out as a physician, and was afterward appointed governor of the colony. Soon after his arrival, he recommended the Baptist Board to establish their mission, for the benefit of the natives, among the Bassa tribe.

In 1835, two other white men, Rev. G. W. Crocker, and Rev. Mr. Mylne, were sent out to the Bassas. Mrs. Mylne, who had accompanied her husband, died in a month, and Mr. M., after laboring nearly three years, was forced, by ill health, to return to the United States. Mr. Crocker continued his labors, and was married, in 1840, to Miss Warren, who had gone out as a teacher. She died soon afterward, and the declining health of Mr. Crocker compelled him to leave for the United States.

In 1838, two years before Mr. Crocker left, he had been joined by Rev. Ivory Clarke and wife, whites, who continued to occupy the station, and labored with great success for several years.

In December, 1840, Messrs. Constantine and Fielding, with their wives, all whites, reached the Bassa mission. Mr. and Mrs. F. both died in six weeks; and Mr. and Mrs. C. were so much debilitated by the fever that they were compelled to return home in 1842.

In 1844, the health of Mr. Crocker had become so far restored, that he resolved to return to Africa; and, having been united in marriage to Miss Chadbourne, he sailed for Liberia, but died two days after landing. “Thus fell, in the midst of high raised hopes, and at an unexpected moment, a missionary of no common zeal and devotion to the cause.”†

On the death of Mr. Crocker, his widow attached herself to the mission, and labored for its advancement for two years; when the wreck of her constitution, under the influence of the climate, compelled her to abandon the work, in 1846, and return home.

In 1848, Mr. Clarke and his wife found their constitutions so completely shattered, and their strength so nearly exhausted, that they left the mission to return to the United States. But he had tarried at his post too long; death overtook him on the passage, and the sea supplied him a grave.

Thus, after thirteen years’ labor, and the sacrifice of a noble band of martyrs to the cause of African redemption, was the Bassa mission

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\* Gammel’s History of the American Baptist Missions. † Ibid.

left without a head, except so far as it could be supplied by the native converts. Amongst them, there was one preacher and four teachers, who kept up the organization of the little church, and continued the schools.

It was not until 1852, that the Board had any offers of missionaries for Bassa, to supply the place of those who had fallen or retreated. In that year, however, Rev. J. S. Goodman, and Rev. W. B. Shermer, and their wives, offered themselves to the Board, and were accepted. They set sail November 27, 1852, and were accompanied by Mrs. Crocker, who longed to return to the mission and devote her life to the service of her Lord and Master.

This Mission family was permitted to reach its field of labor in safety; but recent information brings the painful intelligence of the death of Mrs. Crocker and Mrs. Shermer; and that Mr. Shermer himself, had also been very ill, and had left Africa to return home by way of England. In writing from London, under date of January 13, 1854, he says: "That during the past twelve months, six missionaries of different denominations have died, and eight have been and are obliged to return to America; all of whom had gone to Africa within the last year. This is indeed a fearful mortality among African missionaries. Yet God has a people there, and if the white man can not live to evangelize them, he can and will raise up other agencies. Educated colored men, in all probability, must and will be the only instrumentality employed in the conversion of Africa."\*

The mission, before the recent deaths, consisted of 2 stations, 2 missionaries, 4 female assistants, and 4 native assistants. Its Church has 16 members; and it has 2 day-schools with 36 pupils, and 2 Sabbath-Schools with 60 pupils.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONARY BOARD OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, came into existence in 1845. Its organization was a result of the differences of opinion, on the subject of slavery, among the members of the American Baptist Missionary Union. The Liberia Churches, which were founded by Lot Carey, Collin Teage, and their successors, connected themselves with the Southern Board, while Bassa, alone, continued its adherence to the Northern Board. This arrangement gave the Southern Board, at once, a strong missionary force in Liberia; and the mission has continued to prosper under their supervision. At present, it is composed of 13 stations, 19 missionaries and teachers, 11 day-schools, 400 scholars, and 584 communicants. As far as we can learn, all these missionaries are colored men.

The Board proposes to occupy three stations\* in Central Africa, by six missionaries, four of whom are already secured, and have departed for their field of labor. The mission field in Africa, is represented as very important and very inviting, both on account of the constantly

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\* Baptist Missionary Magazine, March, 1854.

increasing emigration from the United States, and the facilities enjoyed for the evangelization of the heathen tribes. During the meeting of the Convention at Baltimore, in June, 1853, the advantages of Central Africa were discussed at length; and the Rev. T. J. Bowen,\* who had explored the field, delivered an address, in which he spoke particularly of Yoruba, as a country with a delightful climate, apparently healthy, and moderately fertile. The people, he said, are far above savages, polite in their manners, quite intelligent, and dwelling in walled cities, some of which cover an area as large as the city of New York. They are prepared by their religion, he conceives, to appreciate the value of the great Sacrifice and Mediator, Jesus, and are willing and anxious to hear the Gospel; and some of them, during his short stay of eight weeks, gave evidence of a change of heart and of faith in Christ. He was the first white man who had visited some parts of that country; and "his narrative was at once surprising and encouraging."

THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF MISSIONS, (O. S.,) sent their first missionaries to West Africa, in 1833. The Rev. J. B. Pinney was the pioneer in this mission. In the earlier years of its existence, it was greatly interrupted and retarded by the sickness or death of its missionaries; but within the last few years its prospects are more encouraging. In 1837, attempts were made to establish missions among the natives, and the efforts continued throughout a series of years. Much labor and several valuable lives were sacrificed in the work, and the only remaining fruit is a single station, at Settra Kroo, with a small school for native children. In 1850, a new mission to the natives was commenced at Corisco Island, which, thus far, is very promising.

The mission in Liberia, for colonists and natives, was the first established and has been more prosperous. It now embraces 116 church members, 2 ordained ministers and 1 licentiate, 3 congregations, and flourishing Sabbath-schools. The day-schools are well attended, by both colonists and natives. The Board, 1852, sent out the Rev. D. A. Wilson, a white man, of finished education, to take charge of the Alexander High School, and raise it to the grade of a college. At Monrovia, the press for admission into the English school of Mr. James, is represented as so great, that it had been found almost impossible to keep the number as low as fifty scholars—the number had averaged 70, and in consequence of the inadequacy of teachers, the progress of the pupils had been less rapid than, under other circumstances, must have been the case.

The Board urges the necessity of multiplying the number of educated ministers and teachers in Liberia; and offers, as an argument in favor of that field, and the one on Corisco Island, that these missions are likely soon to yield abundant fruits of Gospel culture. The following

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\* Mr. Bowen was in Abbeokuta, when the king of Dahomey attempted its destruction, as detailed hereafter.

is the closing sentence of the Report: "Their past and touching history ; their sphere of labor on a continent so benighted, and yet separated from this country only by the Atlantic ; and the residence among us of so many of the children of Africa, many of whom are in the communion of our churches ;—all seem to direct a large share of the missionary strength of our body to be employed hereafter in connection with these missions, and in the general field of labor to which they are doors of entrance."

The Mission of the AMERICAN PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, in Liberia, was regularly commenced in the year 1836, at Cape Palmas. It now embraces 6 clergymen, including Bishop Payne. A high school has been established for training colonist teachers and missionaries. Connected with this school are 5 candidates for orders, 3 of whom are natives. The number of youth in this school at present, is 10 ; who are supported at the expense of the mission. The children of the colonists, to the number of 15 or 20, are admitted as day scholars. A female colonist day school is also in operation, with an attendance of 45 to 50 children. The mission includes 4 stations, at all of which native boarding-schools are, or have been, maintained with some good degree of regularity. The average attendance of scholars here has been over 100, and the number instructed in the way of salvation at least 1,000. Day-schools are and have been taught, in which many heathen children have learned to read, and also acquired that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. Sunday-schools, composed of boarding scholars, and children from heathen towns, have been another means of good. The Gospel has been, and is still, preached to nearly the whole Grebo tribe, numbering a population of some 25,000 ; besides which, a congregation in Maryland, in Liberia, has been supplied with stated services. More than 100 have been admitted to baptism, or having previously received this rite, been enrolled as communicants of the Church. Some of these have apostatized, others have died in the faith ; while about 80 still remain members of the Church militant. The Grebo dialect has been reduced to writing, and many portions of the Scriptures, and other books, published in it. A printing press is in operation, from which, besides other publications, a small Missionary paper is issued. It should be named, as one of the most important fruits of the Mission, that a wide-spread conviction of the truth of Christianity has been produced in the native mind, and an expectation that, at no distant time, it must supersede the religion of the country.\*

Such is the prosperous condition of this mission, that the Rev. John Payne, long at its head, was, in 1850, appointed a Missionary Bishop for Africa. He is a white man, highly educated, and eminently qualified for the sacred office to which he has been chosen. Since entering

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\* Report of Bishop Payne, June 6, 1853.



upon his duties, the agencies for extending the mission have been greatly increased. A station has been commenced at Monrovia, under the care of a colored clergyman, formerly of New York city, whose education was finished in England; and a large additional force of white missionaries has been sent out to occupy other posts. The foundation of an Orphan Asylum, to cost \$2,000, has been laid at Cape Palmas; and the funds to erect two church edifices have been supplied to the Bishop. Of the white missionaries, one male and one female have recently died; in other respects the prospects of the mission are very encouraging.

Mrs. Payne and one of the other ladies of the mission, have returned during the last year, to recruit their health.

In speaking of the necessity of extended effort in the Republic of Liberia, the Bishop makes this important statement: "It is now very generally admitted, that Africa must be evangelized chiefly by her own children. It should be our object to prepare them, so far as we may, for their great work. And since colonists afford the most advanced material for raising up the needed instruments, it becomes us, in wise co-operation with Providence, to direct our efforts in the most judicious manner to them. To do this, the most important points should be occupied, to become in due time radiating centers of Christian influence to Colonists and Natives."\*

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY, sent a missionary to Liberia, in November, 1853. The Christian Church has several of its members in that Republic, as Colonists. The missionary now sent is a colored man, and will not only look after their spiritual interests, but attempt the performance of missionary labor in general. His name is ALEX. CROSS; and he was a slave until within a short time of his having been appointed to the mission work. The friends of the cause in Kentucky, where he lived, purchased him and offered him to the Society—his master generously accepting half his value as a servant. His wife and child were free, and accompanied him to Liberia. Mr. Cross is a man of more than ordinary talent; and with such additional education as he can obtain at Monrovia, he must make a useful man.

THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED SYNOD OF THE SOUTH, have resolved on establishing a mission in Liberia; and have four native boys in the course of instruction, at the expense of the Synod, in the school of Mr. Erskine, at Kentucky, in Liberia. The Synod entered upon this work, a few years since, with earnestness and energy, but have met with many serious obstacles in the accomplishment of their purpose.

This closes our inquiries into the condition of the missions in Liberia. A remark or two, only, need be offered as to its social and civil

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\* Report of Bishop Payne, June 6, 1853.

condition. The citizens of the Republic are colored men, and enjoy a perfect equality under its constitution. They possess all the attributes of sovereignty, enacting and administering their own laws; but in purchasing territory from the African kings, the right of sovereignty and of soil is acquired, not to exclude the native people from the lands, but, as they adopt habits of civilization, to put them in possession of fee simple titles to their homes, on the same conditions allowed to the colonists.

By the influence of the colony over the native tribes, and the terms of its treaties with them, it has abolished human sacrifices, and the trials for witchcraft within its jurisdiction; driven the traffic in slaves from more than 600 miles of coast; exerted a controlling influence in suppressing native wars; and affords protection to 300,000 people, now within its purchased territory, or in treaty with the Republic.

The history of a single case will illustrate the manner in which Liberia exerts her influence in preventing the native tribes from warring upon each other. The territory of Little Cape Mount, Grand Cape Mount, and Gallinas, was purchased, three or four years since, and added to the Republic.\* The chiefs, by the terms of sale, transferred the rights of sovereignty and of soil to Liberia, and bound themselves to obey her laws. The government of Great Britain had granted to Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., of London, a contract for the supply of laborers, from the coast of Africa, to the planters of her West India colonies. This grant was made under the rule for the substitution of apprentices,† to supply the lack of labor produced by the emancipation of the slaves. The agents of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., visited Grand Cape Mount, and made an offer of \$10‡ per head to the chiefs, for each person they could supply as *emigrants* for this object. The offer excited the cupidity of some of the chiefs; and, to procure the emigrants and secure the bounty, one of them, named Boombo, of Little Cape Mount, resorted to war upon several of the surrounding tribes. He laid waste the country, burned the towns and villages, captured and murdered many of the inhabitants, carried off hundreds of others,

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\* The funds for this purpose were supplied as follows: Charles McMicken, Esq., of Cincinnati, \$5000; Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Putnam, Ohio, \$1000; and Samuel Gurney, Esq., of London, England, \$5000.

† This system, in its moral bearings upon the Islands, is little better than the old African Slave trade. The disparity in the sexes is fully as great under the *apprenticeship system*, as it was during the prevalence of the slave trade, and it must be equally as demoralizing. Take, as an example, a few imports of apprentices from India and China, for the supply of English planters. The cargoes of five vessels, were composed of 1,433 males, 257 females, and 84 children.

The practical effect of this system upon Africa, in exciting wars, and carrying off the male population, is identical with that of the slave trade. See President Roberts' letter on that subject in Appendix.

‡ This sum is about equal to the price usually paid by the slave traders for slaves.

and robbed several factories in that region, belonging to merchants of Liberia. On the 26th of February, 1853, President Roberts issued his proclamation enjoining a strict observance of the law regulating passports, and forbidding the sailing of any vessel, with emigrants, without first visiting the port of Monrovia, where each passenger should be examined as to his wishes. On the first of March the President, with 200 men, sailed for Little Cape Mount, arrested Boombo and 50 of his followers, summoned a council of the other chiefs at Monrovia for his trial on the 14th, and returned home with his prisoners. At the time appointed, the trial was held, Boombo was found guilty of "*High Misdemeanor*," and sentenced "to make restitution, restoration, and reparation of goods stolen, people captured, and damages committed: to pay a fine of \$500, and be imprisoned for two years."\* When the sentence was pronounced, the convict shed tears, regarding the ingredient of imprisonment in his sentence, to be almost intolerable. These rigorous measures, adopted to maintain the authority of the Government and majesty of the laws, have had a salutary influence upon the chiefs. No outbreaks have since occurred, and but little apprehension of danger for the future is entertained.

The missionaries and teachers in Liberia, are nearly all colored men, and citizens of the Republic, who yield a cordial support to its laws, and enjoy ample protection under its government. These missionaries have the control of the schools and churches; and, consequently, they possess the entire direction of the intellectual, moral, and religious training of the youth. Liberia, therefore, may be denominated a *Missionary Republic*. And such is the influence the colony has exerted over the natives, that their heathenish customs and superstitions are fast disappearing before the advancing Christian civilization. In the country of Messurado, including the seat of government, there no longer exists a single temple of heathen worship.†

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\* African Repository, August, 1853. [See Appendix.]

† Officer of U. S. Navy, in Gurley's Report. Vice President Benson also bears the following testimony to an improvement in the character of the natives.

"It is also gratifying to know that the natives are becoming increasingly assimilated to us in manners and habits; their requisitions for civilized productions increase annually; they are seldom satisfied with the same size and quality of the piece of cloth they wore last year—some of them habitually wear a pair of pantaloons, shirt or coat, and others all of these at once: and of the thousands that have intercourse with our settlements, and used to glory in their greegree, and were afraid to utter an expression against it, very many of them are now ashamed to be seen with a vestige of it about them, and if a particle of it should be about them, they try to secrete it, and if detected, it is with mortification depicted in their countenances; they disclaim it, or make some excuse. There is also manifestly, a spirit of commendable competition among them throughout the country; they try to rival each other in many of the civilized customs, a pride and ambition that I feel sure will never abate materially, till they are raised to the perfect level of civilized life, and flow in one common channel with us, civilly and religiously. It is certainly progressing, and though some untoward circumstances may retard its consummation, yet nothing shall ultimately prevent it."

The religious and educational statistics of Liberia are not complete, but are sufficient to show, that the different churches have more than 2,000 communicants; the Sabbath-schools more than 1500 children, of whom 500 are natives; while in the day-schools there are not less than 1,400 pupils.

Of the *white* missionaries who entered the field in Liberia, during the first thirty years of its existence, but two or three remained at the close of that period—all the others having died or been disabled by the loss of health. Take, as an example, the Episcopal Mission. *Twenty* white laborers, male and female, entered that mission, up to 1849, of whom only the Rev. Mr. Payne and his wife, and Dr. Perkins remained. All the others had fallen at their posts or been forced to retreat. Take that of the Presbyterian Board also: Of *nineteen* white missionaries, male and female, sent out, up to May, 1851, *nine* had died, *seven* returned, and *three* remained; while of *fourteen* colored missionaries, male and female, employed, but *four* have died, and *one* returned on account of ill health. Take the Methodists likewise: Of the *thirteen* white missionaries sent out, *six* had died, *six* returned, and *one* remained, in 1848; while of *thirty-one* colored missionaries employed by this church, only *seven* had died natural deaths, and *fourteen* remained in active service. The extent of this mortality among the white missionaries will be comprehended, when it is stated, that their average period of life, up to nearly the last named date, has been only two years.\* The mission work in Liberia, therefore, has necessarily fallen into the hands of colored men; and, thus, the Providence of God has afforded to that race an opportunity to display their powers, and to show to the world what, under favorable circumstances, they are capable of achieving.

In relation to the influence exerted by Liberia, on the cause of African Missions, BISHOP SCOTT testifies as follows :

“In my judgment, the bearing of African Colonization on the cause of Christian Missions, in that vast peninsula of darkness and sin, ought to be sufficient, in the absence of every other consideration, to secure for that great enterprise, the warm and steady support of every lover of Christ.”†

If, then, a Colony of colored men, beginning with less than 100, and gradually increasing to 9,000, has, in 30 years, established an Independent Republic amidst a savage people; destroyed the slave trade on 600 miles of the African coast; put down the heathen temples in one of its largest counties; afforded security to all the missions within its limits; and now casts its shield over 300,000 native inhabitants; what may not be done in the next 30 years, by Colonization and Missions combined, were sufficient means supplied to call forth all their energies?

\* The details of mortality connected with the Baptist mission, have been given full, as an example of the effects of the climate on white missionaries.

† Letter to the Colonization Herald, October, 1853.



II. *The Missions in the English Colonies of Recaptured Africans.*

These Missions are next in importance, and have been next in success, to those of Liberia. The term, *recaptured*, has reference to the natives rescued from the slave-ships, on the coast of Africa, by the English squadron. The principal Colony of this class, is at Sierra Leone. It was first established as a private enterprise, through the exertions of GRANVILLE SHARP, afterwards placed under the control of a chartered company, and, finally, taken under the care of the British government. It had for its object, chiefly, the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa.

The origin of this Colony has such an intimate connection with the rise of the Anti-Slavery sentiment in England, and the adoption of the measures which have done so much toward the redemption of Africa, that the principal facts of its history must be stated.

On the 22d of May, 1772, Lord Mansfield decided the memorable Somerset case, and pronounced it unlawful to hold a slave in Great Britain.\* Previous to this date, many slaves had been introduced into English families, and, on running away, the fugitives had been delivered up to their masters, by order of the Court of King's Bench, under Lord Mansfield; but now the poor African, no longer hunted as a beast of prey, in the streets of London, slept under his roof, miserable as it might be, in perfect security.†

To GRANVILLE SHARP belonged the honor of this achievement. By the decision, about 400 negroes were thrown upon their own resources. They flocked to Mr. Sharp as their patron; but considering their numbers, and his limited means, it was impossible for him to afford them adequate relief. To those thus emancipated, others, discharged from the army and navy, were afterwards added, who, by their improvidence, were reduced to extreme distress. After much reflection, Mr. Sharp determined to colonize them in Africa.

Here, then, was first conceived the idea of African colonization; but this benevolent scheme could not be executed at once, and the blacks—indigent, unemployed, despised, forlorn, vicious—became such nuisances, as to make it necessary they should be sent somewhere, and no longer suffered to infest the streets of London.‡ Private benevolence could not be sufficiently enlisted in their behalf, and fifteen years passed away, when Government, anxious to remove what it regarded as injurious, at last came to the aid of Mr. Sharp, and supplied the means of their transportation and support.§

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\* "Immemorial usage preserves a positive law, after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it, has been forgotten; and tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. Upon the whole, we can not say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged."—*Close of Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case.*

† Clarkson's History of the slave trade. ‡ Wadstrom, page 220.

§ Memoirs of Granville Sharp.

In April, 1787, these colored people, numbering over 490, were put on shipboard for Africa, and, in the following month, were landed in Sierra Leone. A plentiful supply of rum had been furnished, and, for reasons unexplained, they were accompanied by 60 whites, most of whom were females of the worst character.\* Intemperance and debauchery so generally prevailed, during the voyage, that nearly one half of them died on the passage and within four months after landing. The sickness of their chaplain, the deaths of their agents, and the consequent desertions of the emigrants, reduced the Colony, during the first year, to 40 persons, and endangered its existence. The next year, 39 new emigrants arrived, with abundant supplies, and the deserters returned, so as to secure a force of 130 persons to the Colony. During the following year, internal discord, succeeded by an attack from a native chief, dispersed the colonists throughout the country; and, again, through Mr. Sharp's exertions, an agent was sent to their relief, who collected them together, and furnished arms for their defense.

In March, 1792, a reinforcement of 1,131 blacks, from Nova Scotia, arrived at Sierra Leone. These men were fugitive slaves, who had joined the English during the American Revolutionary war, and had been promised lands in Nova Scotia; but the government having failed to meet its pledge, and the climate proving unfavorable, they sought refuge in Africa. A fever which had attacked the emigrants in Halifax, and from which 65 had died on the passage, still prevailed among them after landing; so that, from its effects, together with the influence of the climate, 130 more died the first year in Sierra Leone.

About this time the Colony passed from the care of Mr. Sharp, to that of the Company. This led to the sending of 119 whites, along with a Governor, as counselors, physicians, soldiers, clerks, overseers, artificers, settlers, and servants. Of this company 57 died within the year, 22 returned, and 40 remained.†

As soon as health would permit, the Nova Scotia fugitives proceeded to work vigorously, in clearing lands and building houses; and, in the succeeding year, two churches were erected, and a school of 300 pupils established.

These fugitives must have been men of more than ordinary energy of character. This opinion is sustained by the subsequent events of their history. When the French fleet, in 1794, burned their houses and destroyed their property, it was but a short time until the Colony was again in a prosperous condition. But their physical energy and industry, were not their most remarkable characteristics. When Granville Sharp's mild system of government, admitting colored men to share in its administration, was superseded by the more rigid laws of the Company, which excluded them from office, they resisted the change. Though, in America, they had fought on the side of Britain,

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\* Wadstrom, page 221.    † Wadstrom.

in Africa, they espoused the cause of Republican principles. Their disappointment in not receiving the promised lands in Nova Scotia, had given them no very favorable opinion of English justice. When required to submit to the authority of the Governor, and to a different policy from what they had embraced on emigrating, they denied they owed subjection to the new laws, or to any laws except of their own enactment. Ascertaining that the legal powers of the Company were inadequate to the enforcement of its authority, they boldly asserted their claim to the sovereignty, and their right to exclude from the administration all but officers of their own choice. Parliament, on learning the posture of affairs, at once granted the Company ample powers to extinguish this little blaze of Democracy; but the Colonists as resolutely determined to resist; and, on September 10th, 1800, announced their purpose of assuming all political power in the settlement. The Governor, left in the minority, had to employ the natives to aid him. As the insurgents refused all accommodation, there was no alternative but a resort to force. At this moment, 550 Maroons, (free negroes,) from Jamaica,\* were landed; and, joining the Governor, he was enabled to defeat the rebels. Three of the leaders in this struggle were taken and afterwards executed; and so well pleased was Parliament, at seeing Democracy cut up by the roots, that it voted the Governor \$105,000, to erect a fortification and aid in paying the Company's debts.

Two subsequent attacks by the natives, together with the urgent appeals of the Company, led the Government, the first of January, 1808, to assume the sovereignty over the Colony, and provide for its safety. This measure was the more agreeable to Granville Sharp and the Company, as he had sunk \$7,000 and it \$410,000 in the enterprise. The arrangement was equally necessary to England, as, in that year, she rendered herself illustrious by the abolition of the slave trade; and needed Sierra Leone to carry on her operations, and to provide for the slaves she might rescue from the traders.

Missions for the benefit of this Colony, were first attempted in 1792, again in 1795, and in 1797; but all these efforts failed; because of the disaffection of the Nova Scotia fugitives, and because the slave trade, then a legal traffic to British subjects, was prosecuted everywhere upon the African coast, and even within Sierra Leone. In 1804, the Church Missionary Society sent out its missionaries, with orders to seek for stations out of the colony, because of the opposition within it; but in this they did not succeed. In 1808, when the slave trade was abolished, these missionaries commenced ten stations beyond the limits of the Colony, according to their instructions, but were unable to sustain them. The natives, interested in the slave trade, burned the mission houses and churches, destroyed the growing crops of the

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\* They had first gone to Nova Scotia, from whence they sailed to Sierra Leone.

missionaries, threatened their lives, and otherwise persecuted them. When England abandoned the traffic in slaves, she but surrendered its monopoly to France, Spain and Portugal; hence, there was no diminution of its extent, or abatement of its horrors, but a vast increase of both :\* and, as the missions from 1792 to 1808, failed both in and out of the Colony; so the continuance of the trade, beyond its limits, after 1808, drove the missionaries within its jurisdiction, to enjoy its protection. But these stations were not abandoned, until after a long struggle to sustain them—the last one having been maintained until 1818.

From 1808, the work of missions in Sierra Leone, was successfully begun; and the first dawn of hope for oppressed Africa, arose with the first blow aimed at the slave-trade. Up to this date, the slave-trader had held undisputed sway on the coast of Africa, and the introduction of the Gospel was impossible. The slave-trade, it would seem, is an evil so horrid, that the Almighty refused to give success to the missionary, unless that outrage upon humanity should first be suppressed.

The Episcopal mission, established in Sierra Leone, in 1808, has been continued without interruption, except what necessarily arose from the great mortality among the missionaries. A college and several schools were established at an early day, in which orphan and destitute children were boarded and instructed.† Besides teaching the schools, the missionaries preached to the adults, a few of whom embraced the Gospel; but no very encouraging progress was made for many years. In 1817, however, the labors expended began to unfold their effects, and the mission to make encouraging advances; so that, by 1832, it had 638 communicants and 294 candidates in its churches, 684 Sabbath school scholars, and 1,388 pupils in its day-schools.

Thus, in 45 years after the founding of Sierra Leone, and 24 after the abolition of the slave-trade, was the basis of this mission broadly and securely laid. Since that period it has been extended eastward to Badagry, Abbeokuta, and Lagos. In connection with all these missions, but chiefly in Sierra Leone, the Episcopal Church, in 1850, had 54 seminaries and schools, 6,600 pupils, 2,183 communicants, and 7,500 attendants on public worship. Of the teachers in the schools at Sierra Leone, it is worthy of remark, that only *five* were Europeans, while *fifty-six* were native Africans. Such is the prosperous condition of these missions, at present, and the amount of superintendency they require, that the REV. MR. VIDAL has been ordained a Bishop for West Africa, and sent forth to his field of labor.

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\* See Part 1st, on African Colonization, and Part 2nd, the Relations of Free Labor to Slave Labor, for the main facts in relation to the increase of the Slave-trade.

† It does not appear that the Nova Scotia fugitives sent their children to these Schools.



The English Wesleyan Methodists, through the influence of the Rev. Dr. Coke, sent a missionary, in 1811, to the Nova Scotia free blacks, in Sierra Leone; and, in the course of a year, the converts were reported at 60.\* In 1831, *twenty years* after the commencement of the mission, it included but 2 missionaries, 294 church members, and about 160 pupils in its schools. The Wesleyan Mission, like the Episcopal, progressed slowly at first; but, as it collected the elements of progress within its bosom, it also, began to expand, and is now advancing prosperously. Its stations have been extended westward to the Gambia, and eastward to various points, including Cape Coast Castle, Badagry, Abbeokuta, and Kumasi. In connection with these missions, the Wesleyan Methodists, in 1850, had 44 chapels, 13 out-stations, 42 day-schools, 97 teachers, 4,500 pupils, including those in the Sabbath schools, 6,000 communicants, on trial 560, and 14,600 attendants on public worship.

But these colonies of Recaptured Africans, are too important an agency in the redemption of Africa, to be passed over without further consideration; so that their position and that of Liberia, in this respect, may be clearly comprehended. In addition to Sierra Leone, they include several minor stations; two of which are on the Gambia, and the others on the coast east of Liberia.

From documents presented to Parliament, it appears, that, in 1850, there was a Christian population, in Sierra Leone, of more than 36,000, out of about 45,000. In this population, it was estimated, that there were representatives of no fewer than one hundred different tribes, speaking different languages and dialects; so that there are already converts prepared, as far as the knowledge of the languages is concerned, to go forth in every direction, and to explain to their countrymen, in their own tongue, the truths of revelation. Since the subject was before Parliament, BISHOP VIDAL has commenced his labors, and this question has received particular attention. It has been ascertained that no fewer than 151 distinct languages, besides several dialects, are spoken in Sierra Leone. They have been arranged under 26 groups; but there still remain 54 unclassified, which are more distinct from each other, and from all the rest, than the languages of Europe are from one another; thus unfolding to the view of the Christian philanthropist, an agency, in the course of preparation, which, under Divine Providence, may carry the Gospel to the unnumbered millions of immortal souls inhabiting the continent of Africa.

A few facts will show that this is not an idle speculation, but that she has successfully entered upon her great mission.

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\* Although these Nova Scotia free blacks,—or rather these American fugitive slaves,—had gone to work so freely at first, in building churches and establishing schools, nothing farther is heard of them, in the history of missions, until the Wesleyans, 18 years afterwards, undertook their spiritual oversight. Their failure in securing the civil privileges for which they took up arms, seems to have placed them in a position of antagonism to the English Church.

Among the Recaptured Africans introduced into Sierra Leone, and brought under the civilizing influences of its Christian institutions, none have made such rapid progress as the people of Yoruba, a country lying eastward of the kingdom of Dahomey. Their first appearance in the Colony was about 1822. Many of them soon acquired a considerable amount of intelligence and a little property. In 1839, they had become quite numerous, and a party of them purchased a vessel, hired a white captain, and commenced a traffic with Badagry. This town is at a point on the coast from which the Yoruba country can be most easily reached. The trade thus begun soon led to a rapid emigration from Sierra Leone, and the planting of missions at both Badagry and Abbeokuta, the capital of Yoruba.

Abbeokuta is a walled city, founded in 1825, from the fragments of the tribes of the kingdom of Yoruba, who escaped the invading armies of the Fellatahs, while this powerful people were the principal "slave hunters" for the traders of the western coast of Africa. It contains the remains of 130 towns, and at present embraces a population of nearly 100,000. Badagry, in 1850, contained about 11,000 inhabitants. The Sierra Leone emigrants, at the former city, numbered three thousand, and, at the latter, several hundred. At the period when the emigration commenced, and for several years afterward, the slave-trade prevailed on the coast; and the people of Badagry and Abbeokuta were engaged in supplying the market with slaves. This led them to wage frequent wars, and kept up feelings of hostility throughout the country. In these slave hunts, the people of Lagos bore a conspicuous part. This town is about 36 miles to the eastward of Badagry, is large and populous, and had hitherto been the headquarters of the slave-trade in the Bight of Benin. The river Ossa, a lagoon, running parallel with the coast, unites these two places.

The Episcopal Mission at Sierra Leone, sent an exploring committee to Abbeokuta in 1842, and early in 1845 its first missionaries landed at Badagry. In both instances they found the Wesleyans in advance of them. Being unable to reach Abbeokuta, on account of existing wars, a mission was founded at Badagry. In 1846, a noted slave dealer of the coast, forced the warring tribes to cease hostilities, that he might collect his slaves from the interior; and the missionaries, embracing this moment of peace, were enabled to reach Abbeokuta.

Among the Episcopal Missionaries, was the Rev. Samuel Crowther, a native of Yoruba, who had been captured by the Fellatahs, in 1821, and sold to the traders at Lagos. Shipped on board a slaver for Brazil, recaptured by an English cruizer, educated at Sierra Leone, ordained to the ministry of the Gospel in England, he had now returned, after twenty-five years of sanctified captivity, to proclaim the way of salvation to his relatives and countrymen; and he had the inexpressible gratification of finding his mother and two sisters, soon after his arrival, and of being instrumental in her conversion to Christianity.

The chiefs of Abbeokuta received the missionaries with kindness;

and, no wonder, as some of them had relatives of their own, sitting by them, who had been liberated by the English.

With the favorable regard of the chiefs, and the co-operation of many of the emigrants from Sierra Leone, the Gospel, for a time, had free course in Abbeokuta; and its population listened with a willing ear to the offers of eternal life. But, in 1848, the native priests, priestesses, and slave-catchers, stirred up a spirit of persecution against the converts, and the Gospel was greatly hindered. This persecution continued, with some intervals in its violence, throughout the two succeeding years. In January, 1851, the British consul, Mr Beecroft, visited Abbeokuta, and his presence had a salutary effect in overawing the enemies of Christianity, and disposing the chiefs to abandon the slave-trade. He gave them notice, also, that the king of Dahomey had projected an attack upon their city, in his next campaign for capturing slaves, and that his Amazons had doomed it to destruction.

Thus warned, the walls were somewhat repaired, and the population roused to a sense of their danger; when, on March 3d, 1851, the Dahomian army, of 10,000 men and 6,000 women, made an assault upon the city. Abbeokuta had only 8,000 warriors to oppose this force; but many of its women ran to and fro, amidst the flying bullets, with food and water for the soldiers on the walls, that they might remain at their posts to fight for life and liberty. For six long hours the murderous strife continued, when the Dahomians began to waver, and the Abbeokutans, rushing out, put them to flight; and, pressing closely on their rear, continued the slaughter until darkness led them to return. At early dawn the pursuit was renewed, and, at seventeen miles distance, another battle ensued in which the Abbeokutans were again victorious. The loss of the Dahomians was 3,000 killed and 1,000 taken prisoners. Of the slain nearly 1,800 were left before the walls of Abbeokuta. These were the flower of the enemy's army, chiefly women, who are always placed foremost in the battles, as more reliable than the men.\*

Thus was Abbeokuta and its missionaries mercifully delivered from destruction. Even the heathen openly acknowledged that they owed the victory to the God of the Christians; and all felt that the missionaries were their truest friends.†

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\* "Abbeokuta, or Sunrise in the Tropics."

† "Where are your charms?" said a Mohammedan chief, under whom part of the Christian converts fought against the Dahomians. "You will all be killed." "We have no charms," was the simple reply, "but our faith in the Son of God, who died for sinners." A watchful eye was kept upon them in the field of battle, for it was said that Christianity was making women of them; but they acquitted themselves like men: so much so, as to gain the praise even of those who persecuted them; and the result showed that it was possible to be brave, and yet Christian, and to escape the risks of battle without amulets.—*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Oct. 1853.

When, in the midst of the battle, another chief, addressing one of the converts, exclaimed: "Ah, Kashi, if all fought like you, they might follow what religion they like."—"*Sunrise in the Tropics*."

In November, following, Capt. Forbes, of her Majesty's navy, was commissioned to negotiate treaties with the authorities of Abbeokuta. He found but little difficulty in persuading the chiefs to sign a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade and human sacrifices—enormities which had extensively prevailed—and for the extension of the missions into the interior, and the toleration of religion. Having taken with him several cannon, he planted them on the walls of the city, and taught some of the citizens how to use them.

The mission in Abbeokuta, being thus freed from embarrassment, is prospering, and the missionaries are extending their operations to the neighboring towns. It would seem, indeed, as if the whole of the Yoruba territory were bidding the missionary welcome, and encouraging him onward in the work of its evangelization.\* The Gospel, it is true, still meets with opposition; but the chiefs, mostly, are friendly and send their children to the schools. Open persecution is no longer permitted; and, but for the continual apprehension of another attack from Dahomey, the missionaries would seem to be secured against farther interruptions.

But while the missions are prosperous at Abbeokuta, far different have been the results at Badagry. The events that have transpired at the two places, have also been very different. Akitoye, the lawful king of Lagos, was driven away in 1845, and fled first to Abbeokuta and then to Badagry. Kosoko, the usurper, being in league with the king of Dahomey, engaged largely in the slave-trade and kept up constant wars on the neighboring towns. Some of the chiefs at Badagry espoused the cause of Akitoye, while others resolved to support Kosoko. Akitoye was friendly to the missions and attended the Sabbath-school and preaching; but his opponents were the enemies of the missionaries and engaged in the slave-trade. In June, 1851, Kosoko and his party attacked Akitoye, in Badagry, and for two days the demons of cruelty, rapine, and murder, reigned triumphant in the town; and only left it when it was reduced to ruins. Fire and sword had done their utmost on Badagry; and nothing escaped the devouring element but the two mission premises, and the chief part of the English trading house. During the remainder of the year, all was confusion and ruin. The Abbeokutans sent 800 men to the aid of Akitoye, and by one party or the other, the towns along the Ossa were destroyed without mercy.

It is worthy of remark, that at Badagry, as at Sierra Leone, the mission made no progress while the population were engaged in the slave-trade. Neither of the three Episcopal missionaries, who labored in Badagry, either alone or conjointly, were permitted to see any satisfactory fruit of their spiritual labors.† The town yet remains nearly in ruins—a few of the inhabitants, only, having returned and rebuilt their houses. Lagos, therefore, was selected as the head-quarters of the mission, and Badagry reduced to an out-station, with only a catechist.

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\* Church Missionary Intelligencer, June, 1853.

† Abbeokuta, or Sunrise in the Tropics.



The treaty between the chiefs of Abbeokuta and Captain Forbes, bound them to promote the interests of the missions, and to abolish the slave-trade. It secured to them, in turn, the protection of England. But Kosoko, of Lagos, and his confederates, resolved to prevent the introduction of Christianity, civilization and legitimate traffic into that region, to destroy Abbeokuta, and to persevere in the slave-trade. The British squadron, therefore, having found its efforts by sea, to suppress the traffic, altogether unavailing, and to save its ally, Abbeokuta, from destruction, proceeded to Lagos, December, 1851, bombarded the town, took it in possession, dethroned Kosoko, and restored Akitoye to his rightful possessions. So imminent was the danger to Abbeokuta, that Kosoko had marched at the head of a large army to destroy it, and was only diverted from his purpose by the attack upon his capital. The Portuguese slave-dealers were immediately expelled, and thus, for the moment, the slave-trade was suppressed in the Bight of Benin.

But the hateful slave-trade, of which Lagos had long been the chief mart, had thoroughly engrained itself in the thoughts, habits, and hearts of the people. Taught by the slave-dealer to consider the English as natural enemies, they only awaited a suitable opportunity to renew a trade so lucrative as the capture and sale of their fellow men. Accordingly, about nine months after the expulsion of Kosoko, the Portuguese traders returned and secretly renewed the traffic in slaves. Akitoye, faithful to his treaty with the English, interposed his authority for its suppression. This led to an insurrection against him and for the restoration of Kosoko. The Portuguese supplied the insurgents with arms and ammunition; and, on the morning of August 6th, 1853, the war commenced in the streets of Lagos. The contest was kept up till night, many were killed and wounded on both sides, and the greater part of the town destroyed by fire. One of the mission houses was consumed, with nearly all of its contents; and the other would have shared the same fate, but for the protection afforded by the army of Akitoye, and by Capt. Gardner, of the British navy, then in port with his vessel. A cessation of hostilities took place for a few days, during which Kosoko entered the town and joined the rebels. The union of his forces with theirs, gave him a great superiority over Akitoye; and the missionaries, and the English consul, had no other expectation but that they would all be murdered. At this critical moment, Admiral Bruce, with a part of his squadron, appeared in sight, landed nine gun-boats, well manned, and sent a detachment of marines to protect the missionaries. This alarmed Kosoko, and, on the night following, August 13, he and his allies stole out of Lagos. Thus was the mission once more providentially delivered from destruction.\*

On the 2d of September, King Akitoye died suddenly, and his son, Dosumu, was elected in his stead. How far he may be able or willing to resist the renewal of the slave-trade remains to be seen. The

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\* Church Missionary Intelligencer, December, 1853.

missionaries, at the latest advices, were greatly discouraged, being worn down with fatigue and anxiety, and almost shut out from the hope of planting the Gospel in Lagos, as it has been done in Abbeokuta.

These important movements show how the English Colonies are operating as agencies in extending civilization and the Gospel in Africa; and how the Providence of God is overruling the wicked actions of men for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

But while we present these cheering evidences of the success of the missions in this field, we would call attention to an important difference in the results here and in Liberia. Sierra Leone and Liberia were founded with similar objects in view: the removal of a class of persons unhappily situated, the improvement of their condition, the civilization of Africa, and the suppression of the slave-trade. In both cases the colonies were founded in the midst of barbarous tribes; and with men but recently escaped or liberated from the bonds of slavery. Sierra Leone received her emigrants nearly all at once; while Liberia was more than ten years in obtaining an equal number. With the exception of the few survivors of the London expedition, the settlers in both colonies had the same early training, under the slavery of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. Up to 1800, the emigrants to Sierra Leone had been enlightened men, mostly from the same region which, subsequently, supplied to Liberia her citizens. From that period, the population of Sierra Leone has been increased, not by additions of civilized men,\* but first by the Maroons, and afterward by natives introduced by the English cruizers; until, at present, *sixty-six years* from the founding of the colony, it includes 45,000 people, reckoned subjects of Great Britain. With the exception of a few recaptured slaves landed in Liberia, by American cruizers, its population, each succeeding year from the first, has received accessions of civilized men, who have won the confidence of the surrounding tribes, added them to their communities, instructed them in the arts of civilization, allowed them the benefits of their schools, and a participation in civil affairs; until, at present, *thirty-three years* after the commencement of the colony, it includes 80,000 people, recognized citizens of the Republic.

Now, mark the difference: in 66 years, Sierra Leone, aided by a large naval squadron, has grown into a British Colony of 45,000 subjects; while, in 33 years, or half the time, Liberia, with an influx of only 1,044 recaptured Africans, has become a Republic of 80,000 citizens.†

As to the success of the Missions in the two colonies, accurate statistics are not at hand; but from what has been stated, it appears that

\* Capt. Paul Cuffee, a wealthy colored man of Boston, in 1815, took out 38 emigrants to Sierra Leone.

† The whole population on the present enlarged territory of Liberia, is estimated at 300,000; but the partly civilized population, called citizens, is only 30,000.

for the first 30 years of their existence, the increase in Liberia has been more than double that in Sierra Leone.

With these facts before us, it becomes a matter of great moment to determine what has been the cause of the difference in the prosperity of the two Colonies. It can not be attributed to any great inequality between their emigrants, as, mostly, they had an identity of origin; nor to any great difference among the natives, as the diversity of languages in the one, would be balanced by the greater degradation of the other.\* Then, as there was, originally, no material difference in their populations, the greater success of the citizens of Liberia, in maintaining their civil and religious institutions, can not be a result of their attainments under the slavery of the United States, but must be a consequence of their intellectual advancement after reaching the Colony. Neither can the cause of the difference be found in the educational and religious institutions of the two Colonies, as these are identical in both. The difference, therefore, can exist, only, in the greater extent of the social and civil privileges which the Liberians have enjoyed in their form of government. Look at the facts. From the time Sierra Leone passed out of the hands of Granville Sharp, the colored people have been excluded from participating in the government. The offices have been filled with white men, who reside among the negroes, in the position and attitude of a superior race, born to command; while the colonists are made to feel that their destiny is to obey: hence, in prosecuting their education, the youth of that Colony have had their mental powers dwarfed, by the absence of the stimulants which the hope of social and political advancement afford. In Liberia the policy has been the reverse. From the beginning, the minor offices were held by the colored men; and for the past twelve years, no white man has held any office, civil or military, in the Colony. Thus, the posts of honor have been open to the competition of every Liberian; and, catching the progressive spirit of the age, the colonists have aspired to the dignity of Nationality; have established an Independent Republic; and have progressed, in their civil and religious relations, with a rapidity doubly as great as Sierra Leone.†

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\* The native population, along the coast, are found to be more degraded than those of the interior.

† BISHOP AMES, at the anniversary meeting of our Missionary Society, held in Cincinnati, 1853, paid the following just compliment to the Republic of Liberia:—

"Nations reared under religious and political restraint are not capable of self-government, while those who enjoy only partially these advantages have set an example of such capability. We have in illustration of this a well-authenticated historical fact: we refer to the colored people of this country, who, though they have grown up under the most unfavorable circumstances, were enabled to succeed in establishing a sound republican government in Africa. They have given the most clear and indubitable evidence of their capability of self-government, and in this respect have shown a higher grade of manhood than the polished Frenchman himself."—*Methodist Mis. Adv.*

But time will not allow us to extend our comparisons. The superiority of the free institutions of Liberia, as an agency for overcoming the obstacles to civilization and Christianity in Africa, will be farther noticed in the progress of our investigations. At present we need only say, in relation to both Colonies, that, as the result of English and American philanthropy, there is now a line of coast of more than 1,800 miles, from the Gambia on the West, to Lagos on the East, where the slave-trade is suppressed, and Christianity is introduced; and, that within this region, once the undisputed empire of the slave-trader, there are now 30,000 attendants on public worship, 10,300 church members, 152 schools, 13,600 pupils, and a band of teachers, nearly all of whom are natives or Liberians.

Such are the results within these Colonies, where the missionaries have enjoyed the protection of Government, and the aid of civilized colored men; such are the fruits of the English and American Colonization of the African race on the soil of their Father-land; and such the prospects of the moral redemption of the people of that continent, by the return of its captive sons, bearing in their hands the lamp of the Gospel.

### *III. The Missions among the Native Tribes, beyond the Influence and Protection of the Colonies.*

A full history of these missions, including the facts illustrative of the obstacles to the progress of Christianity, where the restraints of civil government are not felt by the population, would be of thrilling interest. But this would require a volume. We must limit ourselves to two or three; and shall first direct attention to those of the American Board on the Gaboon, in West Africa, and among the Zulus, in South Africa.

The first of these missions was begun in 1834, at Cape Palmas; but owing to mistaken impressions in relation to the influence of the Colonies on the work, it was removed, in 1842, to the Gaboon, 1200 miles eastward. On entering this region, the missionary, the Rev. J. L. Wilson, encouraged by the attention of the chiefs, entertained such hopes of success, as to lead the Board to send additional missionaries to his aid. Some of the native converts at Cape Palmas, accompanying him to the Gaboon, served as a nucleus for a church at the new station. But on trial, the difficulties inherent in African heathenism were found to be much more perplexing and insurmountable, in his new field, than those he left behind in his old one.

The Report of the Board for 1850, says: "There is yet but one Church in the mission, and this contains 22 members, 11 of whom were received on profession of their faith, in 1849—a greater number than have been received in all the years since the removal of the mission to the Gaboon. Here, as in South Africa, the habit of taking many wives, or rather concubines, operates as a great hindrance to the Gospel; and



the evil is much aggravated by the late free introduction of American Rum, which has exerted a most pernicious influence all along the coast."

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of March, 1851, draws a still more discouraging picture of the prospects of the mission: "In some respects," he says, "our missionary operations seem to be quite stationary. We have had no accessions to our church for some time past; and some who were added last year, do not give us all the satisfaction we had hoped for. If we had other converts, we should be almost afraid to receive them into the church, by reason of the many temptations to which they are exposed; growing out of the loose and perverted state of morals in this community. Nor do we see how society can be placed on such a footing, as to make it possible for us to organize a pure Church, until there is a general outpouring of God's Spirit upon the people." Then, depicting the general prevalence of polygamy, or what is worse, Mr. Wilson thus concludes: "Demoralizing as this state of society is, the people are, nevertheless, firmly attached to it, and will continue to be so, until they are inspired with better and purer feelings by the Holy Ghost."

Dr. Ford, another member of this mission, in an appeal for more female laborers, draws a still darker portraiture of the deep moral degradation existing around him. "The condition of African women is beyond description deplorable. No one can appreciate it without seeing it. They are bought and sold, whipped, worked, and despised. Unquestionably they become surly, malicious, and perverse; and under the detestable system of polygamy which prevails everywhere, they are perfectly faithless to their husbands. They are our most bitter enemies, bearing a great dislike to religion, and this they communicate to their children.

The Report for 1851, speaks more encouragingly, though it records no increase of members. The Report for 1852, shows that the mission stood thus: 4 stations, 6 missionaries, 1 physician, 4 female assistants, 5 native helpers, and 5 schools with about 100 pupils. One member had been added during the year, two Christian marriages solemnized, and four persons baptized. A considerable reduction of the missionary force had occurred during the year, from deaths and the failure of health; so that only two of the stations had been sustained during the whole year. The Report for 1853, records no new admissions to the church. Only two ordained missionaries were left in the mission, and only two stations have been occupied since July.\* It is remarked, that though the intelligence from the mission "is less cheering in some respects than we might wish, in others it is satisfactory and encouraging. Two things, however, are greatly needed. The converting energy of the Spirit is a constant and palpable necessity; and the mission should be largely reinforced without delay. Who will cry mightily unto the

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\* Missionary Herald, January, 1854.

Lord for his quickening grace? Who will devote themselves to the missionary work among the benighted children of Africa?" \*

Mr. Preston has settled 60 miles above the Baraka station, which is near the mouth of the Gaboon, to study the Pangwe language, and to explore the hill country; where the mission has been directed to establish a new station, on account of its greater healthiness, and to operate among the Pangwe people. He has found the country disturbed by wars, and that the Pangwe tribe are cannibals. Prisoners of war and persons condemned for witchcraft, had been eaten, to Mr. Preston's own knowledge. Such things, he says, are of frequent occurrence; and yet these people work very neatly in iron of their own smelting, and in brass obtained from traders—thus affording evidences of a nearer approach to civilization than the tribes on the coast.

Though the progress of this mission has been slow, and but few converts have been gathered into the church; yet the labors of the missionaries have, by no means, been unproductive of good results. The native languages have been mastered, portions of the scriptures translated into them, and the pupils in their schools will soon be able to read the sacred word, to their parents and friends, in their native tongue.

The Rev. Mr. Wilson, the founder of this mission, has been obliged to retire from the work, on account of ill health. At the meeting of the American Board, in 1852, he was present, explained the condition of the mission, its encouragements and discouragements, and urged an extended effort to take advantage of the present friendly disposition of the natives to gain footholds for schools and churches throughout the country. In relation to the discouragements, he said, that in penetrating the interior, they found the difficulty of traveling very great—their progress being embarrassed by the want of an organized government. They were thus exposed to the attacks of robbers and marauders, who might kill them without being amenable to any power on earth.

From these facts it would seem, that Civil Government is greatly needed for the protection of the Gaboon Mission; and, that instead of its being considered an obstacle, as was the case at Cape Palmas, it is now viewed as necessary to its success: and, if necessary at the Gaboon, it must be equally so in all other parts of Africa.

If this view were generally admitted, a great impulse would be given to our system of African Colonization. Civil government has not been organized in Africa, except by Colonization from either Europe or America; nor can it exist, except among civilized men. Before it can be organized at the Gaboon, an emigration of civilized men must supply the necessary population; or a generation or two pass away, while the work of education prepares the natives for the adoption of civilized customs. The climate forbids the settlement of white men at the Gaboon, or upon any part of the western coast of Africa; and civil government, therefore, can not be introduced by them. Colored men,

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\* *Missionary Herald*, August, 1853.

alone, can live in the enjoyment of vigorous health in that region, and they alone can accomplish this work. As the United States, alone, can supply a sufficient number of intelligent colored men to fill it with colonies; it follows, that colonization, from the United States to Africa, is necessary to the speedy organization of civil government and the more rapid extension of Christianity in that country.

The Mission of the American Board to the Zulus, in South Africa, was begun in 1835. One station was commenced among the maritime Zulus, under king Dingaan, who resided on the east side of the Cape, some 70 miles from Port Natal; and the other among the interior Zulus, under king Mosilikatsi.\* This station was broken up in 1837, by a war between the Zulus and the Boers, who were then emigrating from the Cape. The missionaries were forced to leave, and join their brethren at Natal; but, in doing this, they were compelled to perform a journey of 1,300 miles, in a circuitous route, 1,000 of which was in ox wagons, through the wilderness, while they were greatly enfeebled by disease, and disheartened by the death of the wife of one of their party.

The missionaries to the maritime Zulus, when their brethren from the interior joined them, had succeeded in establishing one station among king Dingaan's people, and another at Port Natal, where a mixed population, from various tribes, had collected among the Dutch Boers, then settling in and around that place. In 1838 a war occurred between Dingaan and the Boers, which broke up the missions and compelled the missionaries to seek refuge on board some vessels, providentially at Natal, in which some of them sailed to the United States, and others to the Cape.

Peace being made in 1839, a part of the missionaries returned to Natal and resumed their labors. But a revolt of one half the Zulus in 1840, under Umpandi, led to another war, in which the new chief and the Boers succeeded in overthrowing Dingaan. His death by the hand of an old enemy, into whose territory he fled, left the Zulus under the rule of Umpandi. This chief allowed the mission in his territory to be renewed in 1841. But, in 1842, a war broke out between the Boers, at Natal, and the British; who, to prevent the Boers from organizing an independent government, had taken possession of that place. In this contest, the Boers were forced to submit to British authority, and British law was extended to the population around Natal. This led to large desertions of the Zulus to Natal, to escape from the cruelties of Umpandi; and he, becoming jealous of the missionary, attacked the mission and butchered three of the principal families engaged in its support. Thus, a second time, was this mission broken up and the mission family forced to retreat to Natal.

Here, then, at the opening of 1843, nearly eight years after the

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\* See Moffat's South African Missions.

missionaries reached Africa, they had not a single station in the Zulu country, to which they had been sent; and they were directed, by the Board, to abandon the field. From this they were prevented, by the timely remonstrances of the Rev. Dr. Philip, of the English mission at the Cape.

A crisis, however, had now arisen, by which the conflicting elements, hitherto obstructing the Gospel, were rendered powerless or reduced to order, by the strong arm of Great Britain. The fierce Boers had destroyed the power of both Mosilikatsi and Dingaan, and taught the Zulu people that they could safely leave the standard of their chiefs; while the Boers, in turn, had been subjected to British authority, along with the Zulus whom they had designed to enslave. The basis of a colony, under the protection of British law, was thus laid at Natal, which afforded security to the missionaries, and enabled them to establish themselves on a permanent basis. An attempt was also made to renew the mission in the Zulu territory, but Umpandi refused his assent, and the strength of the mission was concentrated within the Natal Colony.

Owing to the continued cruelties of Umpandi, the desertions of his people to Natal increased, until the Colony included a native population, mostly Zulus, of nearly 100,000.

No serious interruptions have occurred, since the British occupied Natal; and opportunities have been afforded for studying the Zulu character, and the remaining obstacles to missionary success among that people. Time has shown, that the tyranny of the chiefs, and the wars of the tribes with each other, or with the whites, are not the most obstinate difficulties to be overcome.

From the Report of the Board for 1850, we learn, that though there were then, in this field, 12 missionaries, 14 assistants, 6 native helpers, 18 places of preaching, and 8 schools; there were but 78 church members and 185 pupils. The Report attributes the slow progress made, to the extreme moral degradation of the population; and, in mentioning particulars, names polygamy as the most prominent. As among the native Africans generally, so is it here, superstition and sensuality are the great barriers to the progress of the Gospel.

But these difficulties do not deter the American Board from persevering in their great work of converting Africa. The men composing the Board know, full well, that the evils existing in all mission fields can only be removed by God's appointed means, the Gospel; and, that to withdraw it from Africa, would be to render its evils perpetual. Hence, as obstacles rise, they multiply their agencies for good: and, in view of the consistent conduct and piety of the native converts, the Report of 1850, recommends the establishment of a Theological school for training a native ministry for that field. The Reports for 1851 and 1852 are more encouraging, and show an increase of 36 church members, 16 children baptized, and 15 Christian marriages solemnized. The Report for 1853 is less encouraging. The whole number of church



members is now 141, of whom only 3 were received during the year. Family schools are sustained at all the stations ; *but none of the heathen send their children*. Three day-schools are taught by native converts, in which the children of those residing at the stations, where they are located, receive instruction. One girls' school, consisting of about 20 pupils, is taught by Mrs. Adams.\* The Christian Zulus are advancing in civilization and in material prosperity ; but the heathen population are manifesting more and more of stupid indifference or bitter hostility to the Gospel. This is more particularly indicated in their refusal to send their children to school.

The passage of this mission from the class beyond the protection of the Colonies, to that of those deriving security from them, released it from the annoyances occasioned by native wars, and left it to contend with the obstacles, only, which are inherent in heathenish barbarism. It had, consequently, begun to progress encouragingly. But a new element of disturbance has recently been introduced, which threatens to be no less hurtful than the old causes of interruption and insecurity. We refer to the immigration of the English into the Natal Colony, and their efforts to dispossess the Zulus of their lands.

Before taking any further notice of this threatening evil, we must call particular attention to another point, the importance of which has, perhaps, been too much overlooked. In January, 1853, the Rev. Mr. Tyler thus wrote :

"I have many thoughts, of late, concerning the great obstacle which lies in the way of elevating the Zulus. It seems to me that it is *their deep ignorance*. We find it exceedingly difficult to throw even one ray of light into minds so darkened and perverted by sin. \* \* Of the great mass who attend our services on the Sabbath, but few, probably, have any clear knowledge of the plan of salvation through faith in Christ. Especially is this true of the female sex, whose condition, both temporal and spiritual, seems almost beyond the reach of improvement."

Mr. Tyler proceeds to show, that the Zulus, in their *religious belief*, their *worship*, and their blind submission to the *witch-doctors*, evince the most deep, gross, and stupid ignorance imaginable ; but he presents nothing as belonging to that people, which is not common to the African tribes generally. Without, at present, remarking on the relation which the *ignorance of barbarism* bears to the progress of missions, we shall recur to the effects of the immigration of the whites into the Colony of Natal.

When the Zulus deserted their king and took refuge at Natal, there were but few whites present to be affected by the movement, and allotments of lands were readily obtained for them. Soon afterwards, however, an emigration from Great Britain began to fill up the country. The main object of the whites was agriculture, and the best unoccu-

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\* Missionary Herald, for December, 1853, and January, 1854.

pied lands were soon appropriated. The new immigrants then commenced settling on the possessions of the Zulus. The designs of the whites soon manifested itself so openly, that the missionaries have been obliged to interpose for the protection of the natives. Accordingly, a committee of their number was deputed to wait upon the Lieutenant Governor, to learn his intentions on the subject. The report of the interview, as made to the American Board, reads as follows:

“He plainly gave us to understand, that instead of collecting the natives in bodies, as has hitherto been the policy, it was his purpose to disperse them among the colonists, and the colonists among them. The natural result will be, to deteriorate our fields of labor, by diminishing the native population, and by introducing a foreign element, which, as all missionary experience proves, conflicts with christianizing interests. Nor did he assure us that even our stations would not be infringed by foreign settlers; but our buildings and their bare sites, he encouraged us to expect, would at all events remain to us undisturbed. But lest this statement convey an impression which is too discouraging, we would say, that many of our fields embrace tracts of country so broken, as not to be eligible as farms for the immigrants; and, hence, no motive would exist for dispossessing the native occupants, unless it would be to transfer them to the more immediate vicinity of the white population, in order to facilitate their obtaining servants; which at present is so difficult as to be considered one of the crying evils of the colony. So deep is the feeling on this subject, that many and strenuous are those who advocate a resort to some system of actual imprisonment. This seems a strange doctrine to be held by the sons of Britain!”

Then, after expressing an opinion that the obstacles in the way of this measure may prevent its execution for some years to come, the report concludes:

“Yet it is more than probable, that some of our stations will experience the disadvantages of the too great proximity of white settlers. The evils of such a proximity are aggravated by the prejudices which exist against missionaries and their operations. And perhaps we should say, that, as American missionaries, we are regarded with still greater jealousy. We fear it will require years to live down these prejudices. Public opinion is more or less fashioned by the influence of unprincipled speculators, alike ignorant of missionaries, their labors, or the native people. Such men, greedy of the soil of the original proprietors, are naturally jealous and envious of those who, they suppose, would befriend the natives in maintaining their rights. If we speak at all, of course we must say what we think to be justice and truth. If we remain silent, as we have hitherto done, we are misrepresented, and our motives are impugned. So that whichever course we take, we can not expect to act in perfect harmony with all the interests of all the men who, within the last few years, have come to the colony.”\*

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\* *Missionary Herald*, February, 1853.

The danger from the inroads of the whites must be imminent, when the missionaries venture to speak so freely in their official report. The grounds of these fears will be understood, when we present the facts connected with our next class of missions. The fate of the Kaffirs, doubtless, awaits the Zulus, if English cupidity is not restrained by a merciful Providence.

The Bishop of Cape Town, in speaking of the disastrous effects of the late Kaffir war, has recently expressed the opinion, that, in less than five years, another equally terrible in its results, in all probability, will occur between the whites and the Zulus; and as a consequence of the large number of Europeans who are mixing among them, and whose chief object appears to be their own enrichment, at the expense of that people.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, which is organized on strictly Anti-Slavery principles, has a mission at Kaw-Mendi, 50 or 60 miles north-west of Liberia, which belongs to the class of native missions. This mission had its origin in the return of the "Amistad Slaves," to their native country, in 1842. The Rev. Mr. Raymond went out at the head of this mission. On reaching Africa, he found wars everywhere prevailing to such an extent, that he could not reach the Mendi country, to which these people belonged, and was forced to settle at Kaw-Mendi, but 40 miles from the coast. The continuation of these wars greatly hindered the progress of the mission, as long as Mr. Raymond lived, and for more than a year after his successor, the Rev. George Thompson, took charge of the station, in 1848. Mr. Thompson thus became painfully familiar with African warfare; and represents it as having been conducted with the utmost cruelty—whole towns being depopulated and multitudes driven to the coast and sold to the slave-traders of the Gallinas. Mr. Thompson was in Africa about two years and a half, and was also greatly hindered by these wars in his efforts to instruct the people; until, happily, the British squadron forcibly suppressed the traffic in slaves, at Grand Cape Mount and the Gallinas, and thus put an end to the market. The supplies of European merchandise being thus cut off from the slave-trading kings, along the coast, they were induced to sell their territory to President Roberts, and place themselves under the jurisdiction of Liberia. One of the stipulations in the treaties, requires the Liberians to establish trading posts in the territory, for the supply of goods to the native population; that they might no longer have any excuse for continuing the slave-trade.

Kaw-Mendi is in the rear of the Gallinas. The termination of the demand for slaves, at once disposed the tribes around the mission to make peace with each other; and Mr. Thompson was eminently successful in reconciling the warring parties to each other. But several months elapsed, from the date of the destruction of the slave-factories, before peace could be restored or the Gallinas purchased. Though

often attempted, neither of these objects could be accomplished during the existence of the slave-trade; and, when effected, both were the result of the adoption of measures for the purchase of Gallinas, as a new field for the operations of the American Colonization Society. It is a curious coincidence, that the letter of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, informing the Board of his success in making peace among the tribes; and that of President Roberts to the Colonization Society, announcing the purchase of Gallinas, were both written on the same day.

Mr. Thompson had so many urgent solicitations from the chiefs, for missionaries to come and reside in their territory, that the society sent out a reinforcement of eight males and females, in December, 1850; and he, himself, returned to the United States, during the same month, to remove his family to Kaw-Mendi. The new missionaries reached the mission in safety, in February, 1851, and found Mr. Brooks, in whose care it had been left, in the peaceful pursuit of his duties, and the people urgent for more teachers. Before the close of the year, however, the mission was shrouded in gloom. "The war had recommenced its ravages; and sickness and death had performed a fearful work among the little company of missionaries." Three of the females had died by the 10th of June. The Board report the condition of the mission, at the close of 1851, as encouraging, and that some additions had been made to the church during the year.

The Report for 1852, says, that the mission has labored under serious embarrassments, and that its operations have been retarded throughout a great part of the year, by the illness of many of its members; and that it has been impossible to commence the new stations authorized the last year. The Board, during this year, appointed a large number of new missionaries, so as to increase the Mendi mission to 17, including males and females. This reinforcement was accompanied by the Rev. George Thompson and his family, who now returned to the field of his former labors.

The Report for 1853, informs us that the new missionaries had reached Africa, early in February; and that all of them had suffered more or less from sickness during the acclimating season. The older missionaries, too, continued to suffer from the debilitating influence of the climate. In June the eldest son of Mr. Thompson died, and soon afterwards Mrs. Thompson's health so far failed that she had to be removed by her husband to the United States. Mr. Arnold and his wife have also been compelled to ask for a dismission from the service, on account of the state of his health.

During the whole of the year reported, the country has been suffering under one of the most wide-spread and desolating wars that has been known there since the establishment of the mission. It has so far hindered the progress of the work, as to allow of the opening of but one of the stations contemplated, that of Tissana, up the Big Boom river. The latest advices from the mission, says the Report, encourage the hope that the war will soon be brought to a close;



and the opinion is expressed that the infamous slave-trade was at the bottom of it.\*

The school at Kaw-Mendi has received several additions to its numbers during the year, and the new one at Tissana has been commenced with encouraging prospects. The chiefs, with but a single exception, have consented to the establishment of missions and schools among their people. The Report closes by remarking, "that the published observations of other laborers on that continent serve to show, that white men can live and labor there; and that there are in the interior, towards which they are pressing, more civilized, intelligent, and powerful nations and regions of country, not only less inimical than those they now occupy, to the health of the white man, but even more healthy than many parts of the United States. The Spirit and providence of God thus beckon us onward, and woe will be upon us if we falter in our course."

The Report is dated September, 1853, and Mr. Thompson, in company with Mr. Condit, sailed again for Africa, in November. Letters have been received from him at Sierra Leone, where he landed in January, on his way to Kaw-Mendi. Thus has this devoted missionary, for the third time, braved the dangers of the African climate.

Intelligence from Kaw-Mendi, as late as October, 1853, has been received. The mission at Tissana has been abandoned, on account of the distracted state of the country between it and Kaw-Mendi, produced by the continuation of the wars; and, in lieu thereof, a station has been commenced at Sherbro Island, where peace and safety prevail. The school at Kaw-Mendi, is prospering, writes Dr. Cole; but "of the one hundred children there gathered, the mass," he says, "are yet heathen, with the habits that ignorance, superstition and nakedness beget. Bad as these are, they form the most hopeful material for missionary culture, and it is for their elevation and purification our missionaries toil. Oh! how much they need the sympathies and prayers of God's people."† Mr. Gray, who went out three years since, has returned with his wife to recruit his health.

To gain a clear view of the hindrances to the missions among the natives, we must add the testimony of Bishop Scott, to that already presented.

The first difficulty which meets the missionary, he says, on going to this people, is an unknown and uncultivated tongue; a tongue, too, which varies so much, as he passes from one tribe to another, within

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\* Recent developments at Sierra Leone, have proved, beyond all question, that certain persons, in that English Colony, have long been secretly engaged in the slave-trade. There is reason to believe, however, that these wars have been excited by the English scheme of restocking their West India plantations by purchasing *emigrants*, at \$10 per head, from the African chiefs. See the letter of President Roberts, on this subject, in Appendix.

† American Missionary, March, 1853.

the space of only a few miles, that it often amounts to a different language. The nature of this obstacle will be so easily comprehended, that the details given by the Bishop, need not be quoted. He thus proceeds :

“ But now another difficulty assails him—one which his knowledge of men in other parts of the world had given him no reason to anticipate. Though he may in some way get over the difficulty presented in a rude foreign tongue, yet he now finds, to his utter surprise, that he can not gain access to this people unless he *dash* them, (that is, make them presents,) and only as he dashes them. When, where, or how this wretched custom arose I can not tell, but it is found to prevail over most parts of Africa, and, so far as I know, nowhere else. But what shall our missionary now do? Will he dash them? Will he dash them ‘much plenty?’ Then they will hear him—they will flock around him—nay, he may do with them almost as he wists, and a nation may be born in a day. But let him not be deceived, for all is not gold, here especially, that glitters. So soon as he withholds his dashes, ten to one they are all *as they were*. But is he poor and can not dash them?—or able, but on principle will not? Then, as a general fact, he may go home. They will not hear him at all, nor treat him with the least respect. Indeed, they will probably say, ‘He no good man,’—and it will be well for him if they do not get up a palaver against him and expel him from their coasts. This dashing is a most mischievous custom—dreadfully in the way of missionary labor, and I know not how it is to be controlled. I am sick of the very sound of the word. The Lord help poor Africa !

“ But the difficulties multiply. Now a hydra-headed monster gapes upon our missionary, of most frightful aspect, and as tenacious of life as that fabled monster of the ancient poets. It is *polygamy*. He finds to his grief and surprise, that every man has as many wives as he can find money to buy. He must give them all up but one, if he would be a Christian. But will he give them up? Not easily. He will give up almost any thing before he will give up his wives. They are his slaves, in fact; they constitute his wealth. And then it is difficult, not to say impossible, to persuade him that it is not somehow morally wrong to put them away. ‘Me send woman away?—where she go to?—what she do?’ This I consider the hugest difficulty with which Christianity has to contend in the conversion of this people, and makes me think that she must look mainly to the rising generation.

“ But here, too, a difficulty arises. The female children are contracted away—are sold, in fact—by their parents while they are yet very young, often while they are infants; and if the missionary would procure them for his schools, he must pay the dower—some fifteen or twenty dollars.

“ But our missionary finds that the whole social and domestic organization of these people is opposed to the pure, chaste, and comely spirit of the Gospel, and that, to succeed in this holy work, it must not only

be changed, but revolutionized—upturned from the very foundation. Is there no difficulty here? Are habits and customs, so long established and so deeply rooted, to be given up without a struggle? The native people, both men and women, go almost stark naked, and they love to go so—and are not abashed in the presence of people better dressed; they eat with their hands, and dip, and pull, and tear, with as little ceremony and as little decency as monkeys, and they love to eat so; they sleep on the bare ground, or on mats spread on the ground, and they love to sleep so; the men hunt or fish, or lounge about their huts, and smoke their pipes, and chat, and sleep, while their wives, *alias* their slaves, tend and cut and house their rice—cut and carry home their wood—make their fires, fetch their water, get out their rice, and prepare their ‘chop,’—and all, even the women, love to have it so. And to all the remonstrances of the missionary, they oppose this simple and all-settling reply. ‘This be countryman’s fash.’ They seem incapable of conceiving that your fash is better than theirs, or that theirs is at all defective. Your fash, they will admit, may be better for you, but theirs is better for them. So the natives of Cape Palmas have lived, in the very midst of the colonists, for some twenty years, and they are the same people still, with almost no visible change.”

The Bishop next notices their superstitions and idolatries, and the evils connected with their belief in witchcraft; and says, that though, by the influence of the colony and missions, their confidence is, in some places, being shaken in some of them; they generally even yet think you a fool, and pity you, if you venture to hint that there is nothing in them. But we must not quote him farther than to include his closing remarks:

“But what! Do you then think that there is no hope for these heathen, or that we should give up all hopes directed to that end? Not I, indeed. Very far from it. I would rather reiterate the noble saying of the sainted Cox: ‘Though a thousand fall even, in this attempt, yet let not Africa be given up.’ I mention these things to show, that there are solid reasons why our brethren in Africa have accomplished so little; and also to show, that the Churches at home must, in this work particularly, exercise the patience of faith and the labor of love. We must still pound the rock, even though it is hard, and our mallets be but of wood. It will break one day.”

Our inquiries into the condition of the Missions among the natives, where civil government exerts no influence, must now be closed. The state of things is about this: The chiefs, ambitious of distinction and avaricious, often favor the settlement of missionaries, on account of the consequence it gives them, or from mercenary motives; the division of the population into small tribes, and their marauding dispositions, leads to frequent wars; the tyranny of the chiefs, and their fear of losing their influence, often leads them, after having admitted the missionary,

to oppose his work and deter their people from attending his preaching ; the existence of slavery and hereditary chieftainism, leaves the mass of the population incapable of independent action ; the ignorance of barbarism, overshadowing their minds, renders them incapable of comprehending moral truth ; the superstitions of ages are not to be given up, readily, for a religion they can not comprehend ; the custom of receiving *dashes*, tends to prejudice the native against the missionary ; and, above all, the practice of polygamy, ministering to the indolence and sensuality of the men, and reducing the women to the condition of slaves, stands as a wall of adamant in the way of the progress of the Gospel.

These are the more prominent barriers to the success of missions in Africa, where civil government exerts no power, and the influence of Christian society is not felt.

It will not be improper here, to pause and observe, that there seems to be a marked difference between the agencies necessary to secure success in propagating the Gospel among an Asiatic and an African population. Both, it must be remembered, are heathen ; but the minds of the one are enlightened, of the other barbarous. In Asia, where a knowledge of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and the mechanical and fine arts prevail, the mental culture of the people renders them accessible to the Gospel. Many of them can comprehend its truths, when heard from the lips of the preacher, or when read in the printed Scriptures. For this reason, some of the prominent missions in India have relied upon the preaching of the word, as their principal agency ; while circulating the Scriptures and teaching the youth, have been employed only as auxiliaries. Others have relied mainly upon the multiplication of facilities for educating the youth ; while spreading the printed word, and employing the foreign preacher, have been considered as secondary matters—the chief hope being in the preparation of a *native ministry*, who should ultimately enter largely upon that work. Others, again, have combined all these agencies, as means which God has blessed in the conversion of sinful men. The whole of these systems have been successful in Asia, and their supporters, respectively, see but little cause for changing their measures.

But in Africa, and among the North American Indians, where the intellectual faculties of the population are shrouded in the darkness of barbarism,\* the preaching of the word, in the commencement of a mission, has been but rarely successful in producing conversions ; while the total ignorance of letters among these people, has rendered the circulation of the Scriptures useless. Christian missionaries, therefore, in attempting to introduce the Gospel among the Indians or Africans, have been forced to rely upon the education of youth as the means of success.

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\* Barbarism is the ignorance of infancy prolonged into adult age. This definition will convey a true idea of its relations to moral and religious truth.



But whether in North America, Africa or Asia—whether converted while training in the schools, or under the reading or preaching of the word—the multiplication of native agents to take part in the work, greatly promotes the progress of the Gospel. So well is this now understood, that the preparation of native teachers and preachers, has become the chief aim of all missions to the heathen; and the persistence in one or the other of the systems of operations to which we have referred, is due to the importance they respectively attach to an educated ministry.

While, however, teaching, reading, and preaching, are the chief instrumentalities for the conversion of the world; the progress of the Gospel, everywhere, is greatly accelerated by the presence of a Christian population, whose example aids in overturning the customs and superstitions of the people, and commends the religion of Christ to their confidence. As a mission, then, adds to the number of its converts, or receives additions of civilized emigrants, its ability of becoming more and more aggressive is increased, and its powers of progression multiplied.

Where reliance is placed upon education, mainly, for introducing the Gospel, its progress is necessarily slow; because a generation, or two, is needed to bring forward a competent number of agents to take possession of the field. The drawbacks, too, are very great—much seed being sown, which falls upon stony ground. If schools are conducted upon a large scale, the children must be supported by their parents; and, in such cases, the superstitions and vices of heathenism have, but too often, an easy victory over the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. In this respect no new principle has been discovered. In Christian countries, where custom, law, and the example of parents, combine to give the ascendancy to virtue, who can hope that his children will escape moral contamination, if they be permitted to mingle, at will, with the vicious and depraved. How much more, then, are the children of the heathen endangered, if left in the care of licentious and idolatrous parents, among a population where the laws of virtue are unknown?

To avoid these evils, Bishop Scott urges, that the native children, attending the Methodist schools in Liberia, be taken into the families of the missionaries—a system which has been pursued with success, by some of the other societies.

But we need not extend these observations. It is not difficult to comprehend the connection which exists between Colonization and the more rapid extension of the Gospel in Africa; and to see the superiority of the missions in Liberia, to those among the natives. Look but a moment at its advantages. Liberia contains a greater number of the elements of success, than are embraced in the missions to the natives, or in those of any other class; and, consequently, must be more efficient in promoting the evangelization of the African people. The over-awing influence of its laws upon the natives—the permanency of its

schools—the circulation of the Scriptures and religious tracts among those taught to read—the protection afforded by its government to the missionaries—the constant preaching of the word—the high morality of its Christian population—the influx of civilized emigrants who are the descendants of those cruelly torn from their shores in former years—all tend directly to promote the work of missions. Colonization, therefore, supplies to the missions in Liberia, at once, the instrumentalities which those among the natives are only able to acquire after many years of toil.

#### IV. *The Missions in Connection with the Colonies of White Men in South Africa.*

We must refer a moment to the civil history of South Africa, as it is essential to the proper understanding of its Missionary history.

The Dutch took possession of the Cape in 1650, and this occupancy was followed by an extensive emigration of that people to Cape Town and its vicinity. The encroachments of the emigrants upon the Hottentots, soon gave rise to wars, which resulted in the enslavement of this feeble race. The English captured Cape Town in 1795, ceded it back in 1801, retook it in 1808, and still hold it in possession.

The climate of South Africa being favorable to the health of Europeans, an English emigration to the Cape commenced soon after it became a British province. This led to further encroachments upon the native tribes, and to much disaffection upon the part of the Dutch, who were designated by the term *Boers*.\* They remained in the Colony, however, until 1834, when the emancipation act, of the British Parliament, set the Hottentots free. This so enraged the Boers, that they emigrated in large bodies beyond the limits of Cape Colony. In seeking new homes, they came in contact with the Zulus, as already stated, and aided in the subjugation of that powerful people. Driven by the English from the Zulu country, the Boers passed on to the north-west, far into the interior, where we shall soon hear from them again.

The English, in extending their settlements to the north-east of Cape Town, soon came into collision with the Kaffirs; who, being a powerful and warlike race, made a vigorous resistance to their advances. The Kaffirs stole the cattle of the whites, and the whites retaliated on the Kaffirs. These depredations often resulted in wars, each of which gave the English government a pretext to add a portion of the Kaffir territory to its own. As war followed on war, the Kaffirs improved in the art, acquired something of the skill of their enemies, and learned the use of European weapons. Thus every Kaffir war became more formidable, requiring more troops, costing more money, and, of course, demanding more territory. In consequence of these various annexations from the Kaffirs, Zulus, and others, the English possessions in

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\* The German term for farmers.

South Africa now cover a space of 282,000 square miles ; 105,000 of which have been added since 1847—the year of the great failure in the cotton crop of the United States.

The Missionary History of South Africa, though of great interest, must also be very brief.

A Moravian mission, begun in 1736, among the Hottentots, was broken up at the end of six years, by the Dutch authorities, and its renewal prevented for 49 years. Having been resumed in 1792, it was again interrupted in 1795, but soon afterwards restored under British authority. Here, the hostility of the Dutch government to Christian Missions excluded the Gospel from South Africa during a period of half a century.

A mission to the Kaffirs, begun in 1799, by Dr. Vanderkemp, was abandoned in a year, on account of the jealousies of that people towards the whites, and their plots to take his life. The other missions, of various denominations, begun from time to time, in South Africa, have also been interrupted and retarded by the wars of the natives with each other, and more especially with the whites.

The pecuniary loss to the English, by the war of 1835, was \$1,200,000 ; and by that of 1846–7, \$3,425,000. This, however, was a matter of little importance, compared with the moral bearings of these conflicts. The missions suffered more or less in all the wars, either by interruptions of their labors, or in having their people pressed into the army. In that of 1846–7, the London Society had its four stations in the Kaffir country entirely ruined, and its missionaries and people compelled to seek refuge in the Colony.

But the most disastrous of all these conflicts, and that which has cast the deepest gloom over the South African Missions, was the Kaffir war of 1851–2–3. These missions, with the exception of that to the Zulus, are under the care of ten missionary societies, all of which are European. They had recovered from the shocks of the former wars, and were in an encouraging state ; when, in December, 1850, the Kaffir war broke out. In consequence of that war, many of the missions have been reduced to a most deplorable condition ; and afford a sad commentary on the doctrine that the white and black races, in the present moral condition of the world, can dwell together in harmony.

The missions of the Scotch Free Church were in the very seat of war, the buildings of two of them destroyed, and the missionaries forced to flee for their lives ; while the third was only saved by being fortified.

The Berlin Missionary Society, had its missionaries driven from two of its stations, during the progress of the war.

The Mission of the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland, which consisted of three stations, were all involved in ruin. The war laid waste the mission stations, scattered the missionaries and converts, suspended entirely the work of instruction, and has done an amount of evil which can scarcely be exaggerated. The Report for 1853, says,

that the mission can not be resumed on its old basis, as the Kaffirs around their stations are to be driven away ; and though the native converts, numbering 100, might be collected at one of the stations, it is deemed better that a delegation visit South Africa, and report to the Board a plan of future operations.

The London Missionary Society also suffered greatly, and some of their missionaries were stripped of every thing they possessed. The Report, for 1853, says : " This deadly conflict has at length terminated, and terminated, as might have been foreseen, by the triumph of British arms. The principal Kaffir chiefs, with their people, have been driven out of their country ; and their lands have been allotted to British soldiers and colonists. And on the widely extended frontier there will be established military posts, from which the troops and the settlers are to guard the colony against the return of the exiled natives."

Such, indeed, was the hostility of the whites toward the missionaries themselves, at one of the Churches in the white settlements, that *bulletins* were not unfrequently dropped into the collection plates.\*

Both Moravian and Wesleyan Missions have been destroyed. In one instance, 250 Hottentots perished by the hands of English soldiers, in the same Church where they had listened to the word of God from the Moravian missionaries ; not because they were enemies, but in an attempt to disarm a peaceable population. Such are the cruelties incident to this war !

The Paris Missionary Society, has thirteen stations in South Africa. Its Report, for 1853, complains of the interruptions and injuries which its missions have suffered, in consequence of the military commotions which have prevailed in the fields occupied by its missionaries. In alluding to the obstacles to the Gospel, which everywhere exist, Dr. Grandpierre, the Director of the Society, says : " But how are these obstacles multiplied, when the missionary is obliged to encounter, in the lives of nominal Christians, that which gives the lie to his teachings. Irritated by the measures which are employed against them, may not the aborigines rightfully say to the whites, with more truth than ever, ' You call yourselves the children of the God of peace ; and yet you make war upon us. You teach justice ; but you are guilty of injustice. You preach the love of God ; and you take away our liberty and our property.' "

One of the Scotch Societies, near the close of the Kaffir war, when summing up the effects it had produced, draws this melancholy picture :

" All missionary operations have been suspended ; the converts are either scattered or compelled, by their hostile countrymen, to take part in the revolt ; the missionaries have been obliged to leave the scenes of their benevolent labors ; hostile feelings have been excited between the black and white races, which it will require a long period to sooth

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\*Missionary Magazine and Chronicle, October, 1853.



down ; and the prospects of evangelizing Kaffirland have been rendered dark and distant."

But we are not yet done recounting the obstacles to the progress of the Gospel in South Africa, and the oppressions to which its population are subjected. Our last reference to the Boers, left them emigrating toward the interior of Africa. It appears that they have selected territory and organized themselves into a government, under the title of the "Free Republic;" and that, in the course of the last year their independence has been acknowledged by Great Britain. The Boers, although recognized as a nation, seem little disposed to peace; but have, lately, proceeded to destroy some of the stations of the London Missionary Society, and to drive two English missionaries from their territory. They have also attacked and plundered three of the native tribes, killing 60 men and taking a number of women and children prisoners. Their movements seem to indicate that they are determined to prevent the English from extending northward into their vicinity; and it is feared they will enslave or ruin the native tribes among whom they have settled. When charged with this design, they denied it, and claimed that the servitude they adopt is not *slavery*, but a system of *apprenticeship*—such, we suppose, as the English have established, to secure laborers for their West India plantations. The missionaries, however, have ascertained that the natives are bought and sold by them; and from this fact it is inferred, that the fate of the Hottentots, in former years, will, doubtless, be the lot of the natives who are now in the power of the Boers. Alas! for poor Africa!

Referring to these events, the London Society expresses the opinion, that, hereafter, the missionaries will not be left untrammelled, or the liberty of the natives preserved, in the "Free Republic," unless the British nation shall utter its voice distinctly and earnestly in behalf of these unoffending myriads.\* In that event, doubtless, the liberty of the natives might be prolonged, until English emigrants should demand their lands; and then, the fate of the Kaffirs would await them.

We must here close these investigations. In reflecting upon the consequences attending the emigration of the English and Dutch into South Africa, we can not but be struck with the sameness of the results there, and those connected with European emigration among the North American Indians. Unlike the emigration of the colored people into West Africa, that of the whites into South Africa and North America, has tended to the destruction of the native heathen, and not, as in Liberia, to their moral redemption. Nor are the inducements to exchange heathen customs for those of Christianity, as strong in South Africa as in Liberia. The natives, in the former, on abandoning heathenism only become subjects of British law, and not freemen, as

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\* Report of Annual Meeting, May, 1853.

in the latter, participating in the affairs of government. The South African chief, has even less reason than his people, to forsake his barbarism; as he only thereby loses his power, and, from being himself a king, he becomes a subject, and compelled to bow to the white man, who has robbed him of his greatness. These obstacles to missionary progress in South Africa, are daily on the increase, by additional European emigration; as each white man, who sets his foot upon the Cape, but adds to the necessity for robbing the natives of additional lands. On the contrary, each colored emigrant to Liberia, by adding to the strength of the Republic, is aiding in extending to the natives the blessings of freedom and of peace, and securing to them their right to their homes under the sanction of Christian laws.

Thus, it appears, that, as the colonization of colored men in Liberia elevates the native population, secures harmony of feeling and unity of interest between the parties, gives distinction to the race, and secures the more rapid extension of the Gospel; so the emigration of white men into South Africa, tends to degrade the natives, produces enmity of feeling and diversity of interest, destroys whatever of nationality they possessed, and erects a mighty barrier against their conversion to Christianity.

The total missionary force in South Africa, is under the care of eleven Missionary Societies, ten of which are European, and one American. Their condition, in 1850, before the commencement of the Kaffir war, was as follows: \* Missionaries 214, assistant missionaries 155, native assistants 8, communicants 12,116, schools 60, scholars 20,100.

## CONCLUSION.

Here we must close our inquiries, sum up the results, see what experience teaches, draw the contrasts between these several classes of Missions, and determine the best mode of employing human instrumentalities for the extension of the Gospel in Africa.

These Missions, as we have shown, had to be planted upon a broad field of barbarism; where the civil condition, the objects of worship, the social customs, the intellectual state of the people, were the antagonists of what prevail under a Christian civilization. The missionary's task embraced much of toil, privation, danger, patience, perseverance. Wars were to be turned into peace, superstitions overthrown, polygamy abolished, ignorance dispelled, before civilization and Christianity could be established. This was the work to be accomplished. The results have been given in detail, and now they must only be recapitulated and contrasted.

The Missions to the natives, beyond the protection of the colonies, have made the least progress. They are established upon the proper

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\* Baird's Retrospect, pages 400-2.

basis, but have fewer agencies employed than the other missions, and a corresponding inefficiency is the result. Common schools, Sabbath schools, and preaching, are means used for promoting the Gospel in all the African missions. Those to the natives, are limited chiefly to these three plans of operation, while the other missions possess many subordinate means that greatly facilitate their progress. Preaching to adults, though not altogether unsuccessful, has won but few converts, and done but little for the overthrow of superstition. Education lays the axe at the root of ignorance, but from the fewness of the teachers and schools, the small attendance of pupils, and the reaction of heathenism upon them, it has made very little impression on the surrounding barbarism. Less, still, has been done by these missions, in preventing native wars; while polygamy remains almost wholly unaffected by them. The greatest difficulty, however, is, that the missionaries, with very few exceptions, are white men, whose constitutions, generally, yield to the effects of the climate, and the missions are constantly liable to be weakened and broken up. This is true of the Gaboon and Mendi Missions, particularly, and can be remedied, only, by substituting colored missionaries, since they, alone, have constitutions adapted to the climate. The mission to the Zulus differs from these two, in having a climate better adapted to the Anglo-Saxon; but it has to contend with the additional obstacle of a hostile white immigration, which threatens its existence. As the customs and morals of Christianity become better understood, at these missions, the enmity of the natives continues to increase; and the missionary, after years of toil, feels, more and more, the indispensable necessity of multiplying the agencies for removing the barriers to the Gospel by which he is surrounded.

The Missions in South Africa, by their early success, and the progress they have always made in times of peace, afford ample evidence of the practicability of Christianizing Africa, wherever civil government protects the missionary, and prevents the prevalence of native wars. But while we may here derive a powerful argument in favor of increased effort for the extension of Christianity, where the conditions of society are thus favorable; the additional lesson is impressed upon the mind, with tremendous force, that the white and black races—that Englishmen and Africans—can not dwell together as equals; but that the intelligence and active energies of the one, when brought into conflict with the ignorance and indolent habits of the other, must make the Negro an easy prey to the Anglo-Saxon. The sad results of this conflict of races, in the wars of the last few years, casts a deep gloom over the future prospects of South Africa, and renders it doubtful whether the missions can be sustained among the natives as independent tribes. It would appear, that, under British policy, the loss of liberty is the price at which the African must purchase Christianity.

The immigration of Englishmen into South Africa, then, instead of diminishing the obstacles to the success of the Gospel, is adding a new one of an aggravated character. Nor can the difficulty be obviated. When Christian missions harmonize with the policy of England, she grants them protection; but when they stand in the way of the execution of her schemes, they are brushed aside as objects of indifference, and treated with no higher regard than pagan institutions. While her soldiers were slaughtering the Christian Hottentots, in the church of the Moravians, her revenues were upholding the heathen temples of India. As she designs to build up an extensive white colony, in South Africa, the main obstacles to these missions will be rendered as immovable as the British throne. In this respect, they are more discouraging than those to the natives, the barriers to which must be broken down by time and perseverance.

How strangely the cruelty of Great Britain, towards the Kaffirs, contrasts with her humanity towards the recaptured Africans of Sierra Leone! In the former case, she robbed the blacks of their possessions, to give lands to her white subjects; in the latter, Cuba and Brazil were deprived of their cargoes of slaves, to build up a colony for herself. But how much stranger, still, does England's conduct contrast with the policy of American Colonization! Liberia, instead of robbing the Native African of his rights, was founded, expressly, to rescue him from oppression and superstition, and to bestow upon him liberty and the Gospel of Christ.

The Missions in the English Colonies of Recaptured Africans, have been more successful, and are more promising, than either of the two just noticed. The cause of this difference should be considered. The foundations of Sierra Leone were laid, when Africa was literally "the land of the shadow of death." Its corner stone inclosed the last link of the shackles of slavery in England. Its founder looked forward to the redemption of the land of Ham, as a result of the scheme he had projected. A large majority of the emigrants who founded the Colony, had been trained where Religion was free, and where Liberty was struggling into birth. They had caught something of the spirit of freedom, and wished to realize its blessings. These hopes were blasted; and, in anger, they abandoned the churches they had built, rather than accept religion at the hands of those who had denied them freedom. They failed to discriminate between the unchristian policy of the English government, and the Christian charity of the English Church. The slave-trade was carried on under the flag that brought them the missionary; and they turned coldly away from the man of God, to let him re-embark for his English home, or sink to the grave beneath a tropical sun. Thus did the Gospel fail in its establishment among the emigrants of Sierra Leone. Neither could it succeed among the surrounding natives, while the hunters of slaves kept the tribes in perpetual hostilities. Thus twenty years rolled away, before the traffic



in human flesh was suppressed ; and then, only, could Christianity gain a foothold.

But the gift of equal rights was not included in the gift of the Gospel ; and half the stimulants to mental improvement remained unsupplied. The agencies established, however, were not powerless for good. Security was gained for the missionary, and the population could dwell in peace. The Episcopal missionaries were driven into the Colony, to prosecute their labors under its protection. The prejudices engendered by the early collisions with the civil authorities, wore away with the lapse of time. The American fugitives, who had refused the Gospel from the Episcopalians, now accepted it from the Wesleyans. The denial of civil rights to themselves, could not justify their refusal of eternal life for their offspring. The children were gathered once more into the schools, and education commenced. Sierra Leone was made the "city of refuge," for all who should be rescued from the horrors of the slave-ships ; and thus it became a central sun from which the light of the Gospel could radiate to the farthest limits of Africa.

Sierra Leone, as a mission field, is free from some of the most serious difficulties which retard the progress of the Gospel among the Natives and in South Africa. Its chief advantages consist in its freedom from war ; in the absence of white Colonists ; and in the accumulating progress of civilization. Its inhabitants possess such a unity of races, such a social equality, as to prevent hostile collisions on account of color. Its officers and principal merchants, only, are white ; and, hence, fewer occasions arise here than in South Africa, where the black man is made to feel his inferiority to the white. The intellectual improvement of its people has been much more rapid than that of the population in the South African Missions ; and, as a consequence, the teachers of the schools and seminaries, in Sierra Leone and its connections, are, mostly, colored men ; while few, indeed, of the natives in the Colonies of the Cape, have been able to attain such positions.\*

In these facts are we to find the causes of the superiority of the Sierra Leone missions, over those to the Natives and to the South of Africa.

Sierra Leone, however, when contrasted with Liberia, is found to lack some of the essential elements of progress possessed by the Republic. The liberty secured to the citizens of Liberia, extends to all

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\* The comparative condition of the missions in West Africa, South Africa, and the West Indies, according to Baird's Retrospect for 1850, was as follows :

	W. Africa.	S. Africa.	W. Indies.
Missionaries, - - - - -	93	214	283
Assistant Missionaries, - - - - -	170	155	36
Native Assistants, - - - - -	75	8	349
Communicants, - - - - -	9,625	12,116	75,503
Schools, - - - - -	152	60	160
Pupils, - - - - -	13,631	20,102	11,042

their relations, personal, social, political. The people of Sierra Leone, enjoy but two of these elements of progress. They have personal freedom and a fair degree of social equality, but are deprived of the third—political equality—which, above all, exerts the most potent influence to stimulate the intellectual faculties of men. The young convert in the seminary at Sierra Leone, doubtless, finds great encouragement to mental improvement, in the prospect of becoming a teacher, or in entering the ministry; but to the unconverted youth, in the absence of the prospect of political promotion, there is, absolutely, nothing to stimulate to efforts at high attainment in science and literature. Thus the political system of Sierra Leone, supplies but half the elements of progress to its people. Had it been otherwise, had the aspirations of its early emigrants been cherished, and its civil affairs committed mainly to their hands, the Colony might now be in a far more advanced situation. This will be apparent on a fuller contrast of its condition with that of Liberia.

Thirty years after the waves of the Atlantic had closed over the remains of SAMUEL J. MILLS, it was proclaimed from the top of Montserado, that the star of African Nationality, after ages of wandering, had found its orbit in the galaxy of Nations. On that eventful day, a multitude of grateful men, with their wives and little ones, were lifting up their voices in thanksgiving and praise, to their Father in Heaven. Over their heads waved a banner bearing the motto, "The love of liberty brought us here." The barbarism that excited the pity of MILLS and BURGESS had disappeared; the superstitions over which they grieved had vanished; a Christian Nation had been born; and the vault of heaven re-echoed to their shouts of joy.

It was thus that the Republic of Liberia was ushered into existence. Sixty years were gone, since the establishment of Sierra Leone. How wide the contrast between its history and that of Liberia! Liberty, at Sierra Leone, had been rudely driven to the "bush." Its people were held in pupillage, bound by laws not of their own enactment, and governed by officers of a race who had ever claimed the lordship over them. Taught Religion, but deprived of Liberty, the manhood of mind could not be fully developed. Uninstructed in human rights, they now yielded a slavish submission to a distant throne. Not so in Liberia. Here, Liberty and Religion had been rocked together in the same cradle. It was Religion that had given Liberty to the Liberian. He knew nothing of the one unconnected with the other. The Religion that had broken his fetters, was itself free. Religious and political freedom, therefore, was a principle dear to his heart. He spurned the idea, that man must submit to dictation in religion and government; and, from the first, had looked forward to the day, when his country should become a Christian Republic. That day has come, and gone: and there the Liberian stands, a citizen—a Christian; with no law—no restraint—no rule of conduct—but what emanates from himself or his God.

The Republic stands, pre-eminent, as an auxiliary to missions. Its political system, embraces all the known elements of civil, social, and intellectual advancement ; while its citizens are controlled by the preservative element of Christian morals. Its policy makes it but one grand agency for overturning African barbarism. Its advantages over every other scheme are so obvious, that it must be regarded as the model system, to which all others should be conformed ; and as the rule by which, alone, missions to Africa must hereafter be conducted.

The conquests of Liberia, over African barbarism, have been legitimate results of the principles involved in her social and civil organization. She offered to the natives an asylum from the merciless slave-catchers : they removed within her limits to enjoy her protection. She employed them in household affairs, agriculture, and the mechanic arts : they were thus incorporated into her social system, attended the Church, and sent their children to school. They wore *gri-gri*s and practiced polygamy : these customs debarred them from political privileges. They offered human sacrifices to their deities, and compelled those suspected of witchcraft to drink a poisonous tea : the laws punished the taking of life, in such modes, with the penalty of death. The surrounding tribes, for their own safety, sought alliances with her : by the terms of the treaties, she has kept them at peace, and prevented the trafficking in slaves.

Thus has Liberia, by offering the natives political equality, induced them to abandon polygamy and superstition ; thus has the fear of punishment deterred them from the practice of their murderous cruelties ; thus has war been prevented and the slave-trade suppressed within her bounds ; and thus has American Colonization solved the great problem of African Redemption.

## APPENDIX.

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### **The Opposition to Colonization and African Missions.**

WE quote the following remarks, on the *primary sources* of opposition to the Civilization of Africa, from the Church Missionary Intelligencer, December, 1853. This periodical is the organ of the English Episcopal Church, and the opinions expressed are entitled to the most grave consideration. Whatever interest the slave-trader may have in driving English missionaries from Africa, will apply equally to those from America, and to the labors of our Colonization Society. The writer, after noticing the efforts made to withdraw the English squadron from the coast of Africa, so as to leave the slave-trade once more free to the traffickers in human flesh, says :

“But we have something more to say on this subject. The Missionary element has also been introduced into the comments which have been made on this affair, and has received no small amount of condemnation. Our Missionaries at Lagos have thus been placed between two fires. The efforts of Kosoko’s attacking party were evidently directed against their dwellings, and this we can understand, for Kosoko and his abettors well know that the extension of the Gospel carries with it the eventual destruction of the slave-trade, and of every other enormity under which human nature suffers. Christianity does that which the squadron can not do. The latter cuts down the branches of the poison-bearing tree, but the former kills it in its root. If this latter be not done, it will sprout again. The strength of the slave-trade lies in the latent sympathy of chiefs and people ; and Christianity, by indisposing them to it, and by directing their energies into other and wholesome channels, is drying up the secret sources from whence its power has been derived. The greatest benefit which the squadron has conferred upon Africa has been to afford opportunity for the introduction of this beneficial influence ; and after a time, by the blessing of God, that influence will have so increased, and the African mind, in consequence, have undergone so complete a revolution, that the further presence of the squadron on the coast will become unnecessary. That time has not come yet, but it will do so, perhaps more rapidly than we could venture to anticipate. We can, therefore, easily understand Kosoko’s antipathy to Missionaries, and the exultation with which he would have seen them compelled to quit the coast.

“But there is an unfriendly feeling on the part of some at home, which is not so intelligible. It betrays itself in a readiness to entertain serious charges against Missionaries on *ex-parte* evidence \* \* \*



“We fear that in many quarters there is much misapprehension as to the character and tendency of Missionary operations, and that by some they are distrusted as being far otherwise than tranquilizing in their influence. Has the Missionary element a tendency to complicate matters, and render them more difficult of adjustment than they would otherwise be? Is it irritating and war-producing? It has been so insinuated, if not openly asserted. And we can understand from whence such insinuations originate. The Gospel, in its action, must be subversive of the plans and objects of numbers, especially in connection with Africa and the slave-trade. There have been many sleeping partners in that traffic, men who never touched a slave, but who have often clutched the gain; men who have fed the traffic in secret, and furnished the materials for its prosecution. It has been a wide-spread conspiracy for the degradation of the African family. Men in Europe, America, Africa, have been bound together in this unholy compact, each having assigned to him his own particular department, and each full of energy in the prosecution of it. Where were the printed goods fabricated that were used in barter between the foreign and native slave-dealer? Where were forged the bolts, and fetters, and chains, by which the limbs of the captured African were constricted, and he was reduced to an incapability of resistance? Perhaps nearer home than we could have imagined.\* Where was launched the well-found bark, with such admirable sailing powers, the floating prison of the poor slave? Whence the nautical skill that designed the craft, and the able workmen who wrought it out, until she sailed from the port which gave her birth, in every respect equipped and fitted for the slave-trade, but not to be so used until, on the African coast, transferred to other hands than those which took her there?† How various and extensive the interests which were engaged in the prosecution of the slave-trade, all which have been interfered with by the interruption of the traffic on the coast. Many of these, to save themselves from stagnation, have engaged in lawful commerce; but it is with regret they have done so. Of course, in the eyes of such parties, everything that interferes to prevent a return to the palmy days of slave-trading prosperity, when abundant opportunity was afforded for the gratification of more than one evil passion, becomes an object of antipathy. The squadron on the coast, and the Missionaries on shore, are alike detestable. If both could be removed something might be done, and what so likely means as misrepresentation? The Missionaries are self-interested, and obstruct the development of lawful traffic. The squadron is unnecessary, and its interference on such occasions as that of Lagos is in the highest degree mischievous. Credulous ears are not wanting to become the depositories of whisperings such as these; and soon the whole gloss finds its way into the columns of the daily press, and influential journals become the exponents of charges which would be serious indeed if they could be proved. But these misstatements require to be promptly met,

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\* In England.

† United States.

otherwise their effect might soon appear in a gradual diminution of the repressive force on the coast, until it became materially weakened. Meanwhile, the devastations of the cholera in Cuba have been seriously diminishing the supply of working hands, and many eager eyes are directed towards Africa to see whether the attempt could be made to re-open the traffic with any prospect of success. Already new vessels have been fitted out, and we may soon have painful evidence that the trade is not extinct, and that, if we remove our foot from the neck of our prostrate but not slain foe, he will rise up to resume the contest."

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#### **The English Apprenticeship System.**

President Roberts has written the following letter, to a gentleman in England, in explanation of the influence exerted on the natives, by the practice of purchasing apprentices, from the African chiefs, to serve as laborers on the plantations of the British West Indies. Is not this system virtually a renewal of the slave-trade, and a violation of England's treaty with the United States for its suppression?

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Monrovia, September, 1853.

I assure you, sir, the Government of Liberia has no desire to, nor will it interfere improperly with the operations of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., nor will it place any unnecessary obstacles in the way of their obtaining emigrants from the Liberian coast. The only object the Government had in issuing the proclamation referred to, was, and still is, to see that emigration from within its jurisdiction shall be free and unconstrained.

It is proper I should remark, that no facts have come to the knowledge of the Government to induce the belief that Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., or their agents, have actually sent off persons, or that they would, knowingly, send off any, without the voluntary consent of their natural guardians. But the Government had good grounds for believing that attempts were about to be made to force certain unfortunate persons to emigrate without the facts of their coercion coming to the knowledge of the emigration agents.

During last year, serious disturbances rose between certain Vey and Golah chiefs in the neighborhood of Grand Cape Mount. And, in the early part of the present year, Boombo and George Cane, Vey chiefs, residing respectively at Little and Grand Cape Mount, attacked and captured some three or four native towns in the Dey and Golah district, and carried away as captives several hundred of the inhabitants. Soon after these occurrences, a report was rife here that George Cane had contracted with the agents of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., to supply a number of emigrants. Complaint was also made to the Government—by the chiefs who had suffered—that Cane's intentions were to send off to the West Indies the captives he had taken from the towns.

Now, that the agents of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., would countenance constrained emigration, or that they would have received those persons, knowing them to be captives, we had no reason to believe. But it is more than likely that nine out of ten that would have been offered as emigrants, at that time, would be of this unfortunate class. And the chances were a hundred to one that the emigration agents would be deceived in regard to the real condition of the people. Very possibly, no complaint then and there would have been uttered by them. They were suffering painful captivity; and whatever their feelings might be in regard to emigration, they would gladly, perhaps, have availed themselves of that or any other opportunity to escape the cruelties of their captors. And, further, sir, I am assured these poor fellows were given to understand that when they should be offered as emigrants, if they disclosed their real condition, or refused to emigrate, their lives would be sacrificed. Many of these captives have since been released, and returned to their homes and families; and all, I am told, corroborate this statement. Now, sir, under these circumstances, was it unreasonable to suppose that many might be sent off without their voluntary consent? And was it not the duty of the Government to provide as far as possible the means of checking such outrages? Of course, in all this there is no blame to be attached to Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., or their agents.

But, my dear sir, with respect to this emigration business, the strictest watchfulness must be observed; otherwise, the enterprise may lead to abuses and evils of the most painful character. Not that respectable British agents would knowingly be the means of producing such results; but let the chiefs along the coast find that they can send off captives, as emigrants, to the British West Indies, and obtain an advance of *only ten dollars* each, and the old system—war—of procuring slaves will again be renewed.

J. J. ROBERTS.

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[From the Liberia Herald.]

### **Trial and Sentence of Boombo.**

MONROVIA, April 6th, 1853.

We have seldom witnessed the trial of a case producing so much interest as that of Boombo's. The readers of the "Herald," need not be told, that Boombo is a chieftain of Little Cape Mount, that he had voluntarily entered into an arrangement with the Government of Liberia, and subscribed to demean himself according to the laws and constitution; also, that he and his people lived on lands purchased by the Government of Liberia from the native owners. Boombo, though bound by his solemn engagements to refrain from wars, and not to disturb the peace and quietness of the country, has repeatedly, since he placed himself under the laws of Liberia, broken his engagements by carrying on predatory wars, destroying towns and murdering and



carrying into captivity hundreds of inoffensive men, women and children. To all the remonstrances of Government, Boombo gave no heed, and his bloody career did not end until he was brought to this city a prisoner. George Cain, of Grand Cape Mount, is also amenable to the laws of Liberia; and it is now well ascertained that he was the principal actor in all the disturbances created in the Little Cape Mount country. Boombo, it appears, acted under his direction.

At the last Court of "Quarter Sessions," Boombo was indicted for "*High Misdemeanor*"—the indictment set forth a general allegation and three special counts. The first count charged the prisoner with violating his obligations and allegiance to the Government, and that he did procure and make war upon and against one Dwarloo Bey and certain other Goulah chiefs, occupying a portion of the territories of Grand and Little Cape Mount—that he murdered the inhabitants—carried into captivity large numbers of the defenseless; sacked, burned and pillaged towns and villages, and laid waste the country. The second count charged, that Boombo violated, etc., as before, that he did procure and make war upon and against one Weaver, a Dey chieftain—crossing the Little Cape Mount river, and entering the Dey country for that purpose; that he murdered inhabitants, carried others into captivity, and sacked, burned, and pillaged towns and villages, and laid waste the country. The third count, charged that Boombo did violate, etc., as before, and that he committed felony, by seizing and carrying off merchandise from factories belonging to citizens of Monrovia. The Attorney-General, Wm. Draper, Esq., was assisted in this case by David A. Madison, Esq., of Buchanan, Grand Bassa. D. T. Harris, and J. B. Phillips, Esquires, appeared for the prisoner, and we are pleased to say that these gentlemen did all that honest and patriotic men could do for a man under such circumstances. They ably and eloquently defended the prisoner upon every point that formality and technicality would admit of, but as they could not argue the lock off the door, and as the evidence, especially that given by prisoner's witnesses, was point blank against Boombo, the verdict was, *guilty of each count.*

The sentence was—restitution, restoration, and reparation of goods stolen, people captured, and damages committed; to pay a fine of \$500, and be imprisoned for two years. When the sentence was pronounced the convict shed tears, regarding the ingredient of imprisonment, in his sentence, to be almost intolerable. It is hoped that this will prove a salutary example to all other chieftains under the jurisdiction of this Government, that they may, henceforward, be convinced of the determination and power of the Government to administer justice in the premises. It is the belief of many, that Boombo's punishment, as per sentence, is too great, but we believe to the contrary. Until rigorous measures are used to deter chieftains from carrying on their predatory wars, there can not be any guarantee, but that some part of our coast will always be in a state of savage warfare.



# MEMORIAL ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

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*To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:*

Your Petitioners would beg leave respectfully to call the attention of your honorable body, to the wants of the *Ohio State Colonization Society*; and, in so doing, would offer a few remarks embodying the reasons upon which they found their claims to assistance from the State.

The conflict of Civilization and Barbarism—of power and intelligence with weakness and ignorance—has been productive of results as diverse as the differences in the religious systems and moral habits of the dominant parties. The Pagans of civilized Egypt, Greece, and Rome, having no knowledge of the true God, or of man's moral responsibility and immortality, treated their slaves, whether made captive in war, born in their houses, or bought with their money, as they did the lower animals—merely as cupidity, fear, or pleasure dictated. The oppressions of merciless taskmasters, the murder of infants, the assassination of Helots, the butcheries in the gladiatorial arena, all bear terrible testimony to the fearful consequences of the conflict between the weak and the strong where Pagan principles predominated.

Not so were the results of Hebrew civilization when brought into contact with the surrounding barbarism. The Law of God was the rule of action to the Hebrews. It enjoined, equally, the circumcision of males, whether sons or servants, and the careful education of all. So urgent was this duty, that it was made imperative on parents, not only to teach the Law of God diligently, but to write it upon the posts of the houses, and upon the gates, so as to be ever kept in remembrance. Thus the contact of the civilized and the barbarous, under Hebrew law, was meliorating, elevating, redeeming—the result the richest blessing that a subject of the heathen tribes could then attain.

In modern times, too generally, the contact of the civilized and barbarous has been destructive of the latter. Take, as an example, the Indians of the North American Continent and its adjacent Islands. The Pagan principle of treatment was, mostly, applied to

them by the civilized intruder, and their destruction was the consequence of their refusal to minister to his cupidity. A few exceptions now happily prevail. The Hebrew rule, in its more expanded form under Christianity, has been applied to some of the Indian tribes, who are rising intellectually and morally under the teachings of the Christian Missionary. Take another example. The Africans, torn from their country and reduced to slavery, have but too often been subjected to the Pagan rule, destruction following as an inevitable result. One instance of that kind, only, need be referred to. There were imported into the British West Indies, from Africa, 1,700,000 slaves, of whom and their descendants only 660,000 remained for emancipation. This result was not due to their subjection to slavery, as was argued by MR. BUXTON. Slavery is not necessarily destructive of human life. Hebrew servitude was not so, neither has American slavery been so. This is proved by the fact that less than 400,000 Africans were landed in the territory now constituting the United States, from which we had, in 1850, a population of 3,638,808 persons of African descent. That is to say: "In the United States, the number of Africans and their descendants is nearly eight or ten to one of those that were imported, whilst in the British West Indies there are not two persons remaining for every five of the imported."\* Thus, our colored population, on 400,000 imported, has increased more than three millions and a quarter, while that of Great Britain, on 1,700,000 imported, has diminished a million. Surely, men who could so far violate the laws of humanity, as to produce such results as occurred in the West Indies, must have been actuated by mercenary motives alone, and could only have treated their slaves on the Pagan principle, in all its fearful disregard of human life. How far the slaveholders of the United States have adopted the Pagan instead of the Hebrew system, in the treatment of their slaves, we shall not attempt to determine. That much instruction, however, has been imparted to them, directly or indirectly, is proved by the intellectual progress they have made; and that their general treatment has been comparatively humane, is evident from the fact that their increase has equalled that of the best conditioned people in the world. Were the Hebrew rule adopted entire, in reference to our slavery, doubtless all the evils complained of in the system would disappear, and, in time, the system itself be dissolved.

The point to which we wish mainly to direct attention is this: The Hebrew rule, founded in the Law of God, is obviously the one by which the people of Ohio should be governed in their treatment of the colored people. The provision made by the State for the education of this class of our population, is a close approximation to this rule. The school law makes as liberal a provision for the education of colored children, in most cases, as it does for the whites. The law is philanthropic and should be sustained. The common

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\* Compendium of the United States Census, 1850, page 84.

schools, with their adjuncts, the school libraries, should be left intact as the great element of intellectual and moral progress to both blacks and whites. Thousands will thus be made intelligent, who otherwise would be doomed to comparative ignorance. The establishment of District Libraries corresponds to the writing of the statutes and the commandments of God upon the door-posts and gates of the Hebrews, since it lays open the sources of knowledge to all.

But here arises a practical question. The taxation for the support of the schools falls mainly upon the whites. How far will they bear the extension of this charity? Would the citizens of the State assent to a proposition to receive and educate the great body of the free colored population of the other States? Could they bear the burden that such a measure would impose? It is believed they could not be persuaded to extend their charities so broadly. And, yet, there are causes in operation which are practically producing such a state of things. Look at the facts. The surrounding States, slave and free, have not only failed to make adequate provision for the education of their free colored people, but have adopted a course of legislation recently, which is adverse to allowing them to remain within their limits. Even before the adoption of this policy by the other States, the tide of immigration of the blacks flowed so rapidly into Ohio, that it gave her an increase of that population amounting to nearly *forty-six* per cent. in the ten years ending with 1850. The actual increase made to her population, in that ten years, amounted to *two thousand* more than the total increase of colored persons in all the six New England States since the year 1800.\*

The immigration of the colored people into Ohio, since 1850, must have increased more rapidly than at any former period. This belief is founded on the following facts: The legislation of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, forbidding citizenship to the free colored people in these States, has gone into effect, mostly, since 1850. The slave States, too, since that date, have been making their laws, relating to this class of their population, more stringent than formerly, expecting thereby to drive them to the free States. As Ohio not only opens her arms widely to receive all the colored people who may be banished from the other States, but makes ample provision for their education when they arrive, the inducements for them to concentrate among us are very strong. Indeed there is no other point where they can expect so hearty a welcome.

There is another fact to be noted. Many of the free States have made appropriations of money to encourage Colonization to Liberia. This is understood by the colored people at large, as an expression of sentiment unfavorable to their ultimate admission to an equality with the whites. They have been led to believe that such an equality is attainable in the midst of the whites; and, hence, as Colonization promises them full political privileges only in Africa, the majority

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\* See Compendium of U. S. Census, 1850.

of the blacks have an unbounded hatred of the system, and are deserting the States which give it their patronage. This leads them to prefer emigrating to States supposed to be hostile to Colonization, and pledged to promote what they are led to regard as the colored man's best interests. The Ohio Legislature passed a bill through its lower House, a few years since, to aid African Colonization; but it was defeated in the Senate, by being laid over among the unfinished business of the session. All subsequent attempts to pass the bill having failed, the colored people consider the policy of the State as settled adversely to Colonization, and that Ohio has become their "Land of Promise."

All these stimulants to the immigration of colored men into the State are now in active operation, and the demands upon our educational funds will be increased in a corresponding degree, so as to require an increased taxation for the support of this charity. Attention is called to this point, because the main argument employed to defeat the Colonization Bill, was an alleged want of power in the Legislature to tax one class of the population for the benefit of another. The passage of the present school law settled this principle, as it taxes the whites, largely, for the benefit of the colored people. We would, then, respectfully inquire, if it be constitutional so to legislate as to attract additional colored immigrants to the State, to receive its charities, why it should not be equally so to aid those born in the State to emigrate to Liberia, where they can educate their own children and no longer be a burden here?

Your honorable body will readily understand the importance of taking action on this subject. We have a constantly increasing black population drifting in upon us from the slave States. We can not, if we would, roll it back whence it comes, or turn its tide to the right or to the left of our borders. Impassable barriers are everywhere erected to prevent its flow into other States. Ohio is the interior sea into which its waves must continue to rush, until a broader and deeper outlet is created for its escape to some wider ocean. We plead not for any relaxation of the efforts making for the intellectual and moral culture of the colored people of the State. We would urge the augmentation rather than the diminution of the educational facilities now afforded them, since an increase of intelligence will but prepare them for engaging in wider fields of enterprise, and tend more rapidly to develop the capacities of the race. This is the more essential, as their capacity for elevated mental and moral culture is called in question. Colonizationists have based all their action on the belief in *the unity of the human race*, and the natural equality of the whites and blacks. But the doctrine of the inferiority of the *African* to the *Caucasian* is becoming popular, and is urged as an objection to emancipation. Whether true or false, this doctrine is gaining ground, and its advocates insist that it receives confirmation from the results of emancipation itself. The free blacks, residing among the whites, give themselves up to pleasure and to servile employments, rather than to the practice of



the self-denying endurance of the toil necessary to success in mechanics and agriculture. This state of things is everywhere observable. With some honorable exceptions, they rarely attempt to compete with the white man in productive industry. This is true of those in the enjoyment of political equality, as well as of those where this boon is withheld. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, GERRITT SMITH, and abolitionists generally, lament this state of things. The failure of the free colored people of the North, in this respect, after *seventy years of freedom*,\* enables the South to point to the result as affording an argument against emancipation. Their argument is strengthened, they conceive, by the results in the West Indies. The Colonizationist dissents from this judgment, and claims that the colored man must have a fair field for the trial of his capacities. He insists that the blacks are not to be judged by any thing that has occurred under the circumstances mentioned, as they are overshadowed by the white man in the United States, controlled by foreign lawgivers in the French and English West Indies, and oppressed by an ignorant semi-barbarian in Hayti. Give the colored man a nationality, continues the Colonizationist, before you judge of his capacity for competing with the more highly cultivated races. Select your field, then, says the opposer of the Unity doctrine, I am willing to test the question, and if the negro fails again, talk no more to us forever about his equality with the white man. Thus has Liberia become the colored man's state of probation, in which he is to fix his destiny as it regards an equality with the Caucasian. If he fails there, if the little beacon light kindled by that republic should be extinguished, and darkness again cover the African continent, alas! for the hopes of the Negro race!

Your memorialists, in view of all these considerations, would respectfully ask your honorable body to pass a law appropriating means sufficient to enable the *Ohio State Colonization Society* to send its emigrants from the State to Liberia. We found our claims to assistance from the State on such grounds as these: that it is not the purpose of the people of Ohio to tax themselves for the education of the free colored people of the surrounding States: that so long as Ohio stands pledged against Colonization, so long will the colored people continue to emigrate into her bounds, as to their "land of Canaan:" that an appropriation in aid of Colonization, by your honorable body, would discourage immigration, as it would be received by the colored people as an indication that civil and social equality was not to be expected here, but that the people of Ohio preferred to promote the establishment of a nationality for them in Africa: that on the passage of such a law, the neighboring States, instead of contenting themselves with legislating for the expulsion of their colored population, would be forced to make provision for their colonization in Liberia: that an extensive emigration of the

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\*It is seventy-six years since Massachusetts emancipated her slaves unconditionally.

more enlightened free colored people to Liberia, by adding to her industrial population, would aid, proportionally, in developing the resources of that country, extending the area of civilization and Christianity, and elevating the colored race: that as two races differing so widely as to prevent their amalgamation by marriage, can never live together but as superiors and inferiors, the removal of our colored people to Liberia will afford them incentives to virtuous action they never felt before: and that the contact of Civilization and Barbarism in Africa, will not be destructive of the native inhabitants, but tend to their redemption, because the government of Liberia discards the Pagan principle of action, and adopts the Hebrew rule, in the expanded form it has assumed under Christianity.

In conclusion, your memorialists would submit to the judgment of your honorable body, whether justice to all concerned does not demand that the policy of the State, in reference to Colonization, should now be definitely settled. Other States are contributing from \$2,000 to \$10,000 a year in aid of emigration to Africa. For the present your memorialists do not need a large amount, but if the State decides on Colonization as its settled policy, an increased liberality will be needed.

SAMUEL W. FISHER, *Chairman,*

DAVID CHRISTY, *Cor. Secretary,*

*of Board of Directors of O. S. Col. Society.*

CINCINNATI, March 1, 1856.

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